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A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
British Settlements and Trade
IN
NORTH AMERICA.

WITH AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF THE
P R E S E N T W A R.



A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
B R I T I S H
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
I N
NORTH AMERICA.

From the FRENCH of Abbé RAYNAL.

With an Introductory PREFACE, not in the First Edition.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED, AN
IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF THE
PRESENT WAR IN AMERICA;
From its Commencement, to the Present Time.

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P R E F A C E.

THE Author of the following *Account of the British Settlements in America* (* part of a larger work) is well known in the republic of letters by his former productions. He hath here expressed himself with that freedom, impartiality and boldness, which characterise the independent man and true philosopher. He draws a just, lively, and pleasing picture of the rise, progress, and present state (A. D. 1770) of the British American Colonies; and what must particularly strike the attentive reader is, that, in the short space of 150 years, population should make so rapid a progress in an uncomfortable wilderness, where the first handful of settlers were continually exposed to cold, hunger, and the cruel attacks of surrounding savages. But the determined spirit of freedom, which first induced these men to quit their native land, supported them in every difficulty, and surmounted every danger. The desert was cultivated, society and laws instituted, cities and towns built, ports opened, commerce established and carried on with a persevering industry, unexampled in any other nation, and utterly unknown in former times.—The allegory of Amphion is here a reality;

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* *Histoire Philosophique et Politique, des établissemens et du commerce Européens dans les deux Indes.*

lity; and a power hath arisen that attracts the admiration of the present age.

I AM sorry, our justly celebrated Author should seemingly countenance an opinion, prevalent indeed among the vulgar, viz. That men and other animals, carried from the Eastern continent, degenerate in the Western; an assertion contrary to known experience. He says, the Americans have never yet shewn any particular turn for arts or sciences; yet, more than once, mentions the learned *Franklin* (page 110, &c.) as great a philosopher and politician as ever this or any other age hath produced:—A name equal to any of antient or modern times, a man who hath boldly explored the recesses of the sky.

————— *nec fulmina, nec minitanti*
Murmure compressit cælum. LUCR.

AND by giving lightning a direction at pleasure, hath taught us to preserve the public edifices and private habitations of mankind from its fatal effects. And do we not see at this day, America abounding in Philosophers*, Statesmen, Generals, and Soldiers, resisting with success, one of the greatest nations of Europe, whose arms were lately victorious in every quarter of the Globe. In fine, men whose great actions must rescue the present age from oblivion and contempt. And had our author been acquainted with the history of New England, a country always productive of great men, ever since its first

* Vide transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. — *Quarto.*

first settlement, he would not have easily embraced this notion, worthy only of a dull, heavy German Misanthrope *, who, from his closet, dogmatically asserts this absurd opinion concerning the Americans whom he never saw, and whose country is only known to him by hear-say.

HITHERTO the history of our North American settlements has been scarcely, if at all attended to, and even our Ministers seem to have known little or nothing of it, but were content with the information given them by self-interested, designing, or perhaps ignorant men: Indeed the administration of public affairs in this country, as well as in some others, is too often committed to the care of men, who are not the most capable of discerning its true interest.—Men obstinately wedded to their own opinions, deaf to good advice, warped by prejudice and faction, who are more anxious to keep down their rivals than to follow the dictates of reason; by which it frequently happens, that powerful states, from the ill management of those who sit at the helm, are brought to a sudden and fatal decline.

MAY future ages and nations be taught, from the fatal experience of the present times, never rashly to undervalue or condemn a people at large, as has been unfortunately the case at the beginning of the present unhappy contest, betwixt the government of Great Britain and the American States; mere force was then thought sufficient, and political measures never once thought

* *Recherches sur les Americains, par M. Pave. Berlin.*

thought of, though it is now too apparent, that the latter should have been only used in the first instance.

BUT to enter into a further discussion of this melancholy subject, will only serve to detain the reader from the perusal of the following very agreeable Performance, a work equally calculated to please and instruct; in which the writer will be found to possess a great fund of knowledge, and to be master of that philosophic reasoning and conclusion, which a subject, so very important, must necessarily demand.

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PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE IN AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION.

1. *First Expeditions of the English in North-America.*

ENGLAND was only known in America by her piracies, which were often successful and always brilliant, when Sir Walter Raleigh conceived a project to make his nation partake of the prodigious riches which for near a century past flowed from that hemisphere into ours. That great man, who was born for bold undertakings, cast his eye on the eastern coast of North-America. The talent he had for subduing the mind by representing all his proposals in a striking light, soon procured him associates, both at court and amongst the merchants. The company that was formed upon the allurements of his magnificent promises, obtained of government, in 1584, the absolute disposal of all the discoveries that should be made; and without any further encouragement, they fitted out two ships in April following, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now

makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders, worthy of the trust reposed in them, behaved with remarkable affability in a country where they wanted to settle their nation, and left the savages to make their own terms in the trade they proposed to open with them.

Every thing that these successful navigators reported on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the disposition of the inhabitants, encouraged the society to proceed. They accordingly sent seven ships the following spring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpose of commencing a settlement. Part of them were murdered by the savages, whom they had insulted; and the rest, having been so improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were perishing with misery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their assistance.

This was Sir Francis Drake, so famous among seamen for being the next after Magellan who failed round the globe. The abilities he had shewn in that grand expedition induced queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II. in that part of his domains which he made use of to disturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The English fleet seized upon St Jago, Carthagená, St Domingo, and several other important places; and took a great many rich ships. His instructions were, that, after these operations, he should proceed and offer his assistance to the colony at Roanoak. The wretched few, who had survived the numberless calamities that had befallen them, were in such despair, that they refused all assistance, and only begged he would convey them to their native country. The admiral complied with their request; and thus the expences that had been disbursed till that time were lost.

The associates, however, were not discouraged by this unforeseen event. From time to time they sent over a few colonists, who by the year 1589 amounted

mounted to a hundred and fifty persons of both sexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purposes of agriculture and commerce. These beginnings raised some expectations, but they were lost in the disgrace of Raleigh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having lost its founder, was totally forgotten.

It had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Gosnold, one of the first associates, resolved to visit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him suspect, that the right tract had not been found out; and that, in steering by the Canary and Caribbee islands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thousand leagues. These conjectures induced him to steer away from the south, and to turn more westward. The attempt succeeded; but when he reached the American coast, he found himself further north than any who had gone before. The region where he landed, since included in New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he sailed back to England.

The speed and success of this undertaking made a strong impression upon the English merchants. Several joined in 1606 to form a settlement in the country that Gosnold had discovered. Their example recalled to others the remembrance of Roanok; and this gave rise to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to exercise their monopoly was then known in England only by the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South Virginia, and the other the North Virginia Company.

The first zeal soon abated, and there appeared to be more jealousy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the first lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progress was so slow, that in 1614 there were not above four hundred persons in both settlements. That sort of competency which was sufficient for the simplicity of the manners of the times, was then so

general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad by the prospect of a fortune. It is a sense of misfortune, still more than the thirst of riches, that gives men a dislike to their native country. Nothing less than an extraordinary ferment could then have peopled even an excellent country. This was at length brought about by superstition, and excited by the collision of religious opinions.

2. *The continent of America is peopled by the religious wars that disturb England.*

THE first priests of the Britons were the Druids, so famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a mysterious veil upon the ceremonies of a savage worship, their rites were never performed but in dark recesses, and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates spectres and apparitions. Only a few persons were initiated into these mysteries, and intrusted with the sacred doctrines; and even these were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important subject, lest their secrets should fall into the hands of the profane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were stained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the most precious spoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of heaven was the only guard of these treasures, they were always revered by avarice, which the druids had artfully repressed by the fundamental doctrine of the endless transmigration of the soul. The chief authority of government resided in the ministers of that terrible religion; because men are more powerfully and more lastingly swayed by opinion than by any other motive. The education of youth was in their hands; and the ascendancy they assumed at that period remained through the rest of life. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal causes, and were as absolute in their decisions on state affairs as on the private differences between man and man. Whoever
dared

dared to resist their decrees, was not only excluded from all participation in the divine mysteries, but even from the society of men. It was accounted a crime and a reproach to hold any converse or to have any dealings with him; he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his miseries. The history of human superstitions affords no instance of any one so tyrannical as that of the druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to use severity, as none opposed the power of those conquerors with such violence as the druids.

That religion, however, had lost much of its influence, when it was totally banished by Christianity in the seventh century. The northern nations, that had successively invaded the southern provinces of Europe, had found there the seeds of that new religion, in the ruins of an empire that was falling on all sides. Whether it was owing to their indifference for their distant gods, or to their ignorance which was easily persuaded, they readily embraced a worship which from the multiplicity of its ceremonies could not but attract the notice of rude and savage men. The Saxons, who afterwards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty a religion that secured their conquest by abolishing their old forms of worship.

The effects were such as might be expected from a religion, the original simplicity of which was at that time so much disfigured. Idle contemplations were soon substituted in lieu of active and social virtues; and a stupid veneration for unknown saints, to the worship of the Supreme Being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural causes. They were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the most heinous crimes. Every sentiment of reason was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

Those who had been at least the promoters of this
A 3
confusion,

confusion, knew how to avail themselves of it. The priests obtained that respect which was denied to kings; and their persons became sacred. The Magistrate had no inspection over their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulness of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded and even superseded all others. They found means to introduce religion into every question of law, and into all state affairs, and made themselves umpires or judges in every cause. When faith spoke, every one listened, in silent attention, to its inexplicable oracles. Such was the infatuation of those dark ages, that the scandalous excesses of the clergy did not weaken their authority.

This was owing to its being already founded on great riches. As soon as the priests had taught that religion depended principally upon sacrifices, and required first of all that of fortune and earthly possessions, the nobility, who were sole proprietors of all estates, employed their slaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of these foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted from the people; and stripped themselves to such a degree, as even not to leave a sufficiency for the payment of the army, or for defraying the other charges of government. These deficiencies were never made up by those who were the cause of them. They bore no share in the maintenance of society. The payment of taxes with church money would have been a sacrilege, and a prostitution of holy things to profane purposes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The possession of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom, the free-will offerings of a deluded people, and the price set upon the priestly offices, did not satisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own interest. They found in the Old Testament, that by divine appointment the priests had an undoubted right to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was so readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of industry, of the profits on
trade,

trade, of the wages of labourers, of the pay of soldiers, and sometimes of the salaries of place-men.

Rome, who at first was a silent spectator of these proceedings, and proudly enjoyed the success that attended the rich and haughty apostles of a Saviour born in obscurity, and who died an ignominious death, soon coveted a share in the spoils of England. The first step she took was to open a trade for relics, which were always ushered in with some striking miracle, and sold in proportion to the credulity of the purchasers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to go in pilgrimage to the capital of the world, to purchase a place in heaven suitable to the rank they held on earth. The popes by degrees assumed the presentation to church preferments, which at first they gave away, but afterwards sold. By these means, their tribunal took cognizance of all ecclesiastical causes, and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themselves levied the tenth of all the substance of the realm.

When these pious extortions were carried as far as they possibly could be in England, Rome aspired to the supreme authority over it. The frauds of her ambition were covered with a sacred veil. She sapped the foundations of liberty, but it was by employing the influence of opinion only. This was setting up men in opposition to themselves, and availing herself of their prejudices in order to acquire an absolute dominion over them. She usurped the power of a despotic judge between the altar and the throne, between the prince and his subjects, between one potentate and another. She kindled the flames of war with her spiritual thunders. But she wanted emissaries to spread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpose. The secular clergy, notwithstanding their celibacy, which kept them from worldly connections, had still an attachment to the world by the ties of interest, often stronger than those of blood. A set of men, secluded from society by singular institutions which must incline them
to

to fanaticism, and by a blind submission to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were best adapted to second the views of such a sovereign. These vile and abject tools of superstition fulfilled their fatal employment but too successfully. With their intrigues, seconded by favourable occurrences, England, which had so long withstood the conquering arms of the ancient Roman empire, became tributary to modern Rome.

At length the passions and violent caprices of Henry VIII. broke the scandalous dependence. The abuse of so infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. The prince ventured at once to shake off the authority of the pope, abolish monasteries, and assume the supremacy over his own church.

This open schism was followed by other alterations in the reign of Edward, son and successor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then changing the face of Europe, were openly discussed. Something was taken from every one. Many doctrines and rites of the old religion were retained; and from these several systems or tenets arose a new communion, distinguished by the name of The Church of England.

Elizabeth, who completed this important work, found theory alone too subtle; and thought it most expedient to captivate the senses, by the addition of some ceremonies. Her natural taste for grandeur, and the desire of putting a stop to the disputes about points of doctrine, by entertaining the eye with the external parade of worship, made her inclined to adopt a greater number of religious rites. But she was restrained by political considerations, and was obliged to sacrifice something to the prejudices of a party that had raised her to the throne, and was able to maintain her upon it.

Far from suspecting that James I. would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been inclined

inclined to restrain ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies. That prince, who had been trained up in the principles of the Presbyterians, a sect who, with much spiritual pride, affected great simplicity of dress, gravity of manners, and austerity of doctrine, and loved to speak in scripture phrases, and to make use of none but scripture names for their children. One would have supposed that such an education must have prejudiced the king against the outward pomp of the catholic worship, and every thing that bore any affinity to it. But the spirit of system prevailed in him over the principles of education. Struck with the episcopal jurisdiction which he found established in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned from conviction the early impressions he had received, and grew passionately fond of a hierarchy modelled upon the political œconomy of a well constituted empire. In this enthusiasm, he wanted to introduce this wonderful discipline into Scotland, his native country; and to unite to it a great many of the English, who still dissented from it. He even intended to add the pomp of the most awful ceremonies to the majestic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the opposition he met with at first setting out, would not permit him to advance any further in his system of reformation. He contented himself with recommending to his son to resume his views, whenever the times should furnish a favourable opportunity; and represented the Presbyterians to him as alike dangerous to religion and to the throne.

Charles readily adopted his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of despotism he had imbibed from Buckingham his favourite, the most corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted several bishops to the highest dignities in the government, and conferred on them most of the offices that gave the greatest influence on public measures.

measures. Those ambitious prelates, now become the masters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the instigations of others, betrayed that ambition so familiar to the clergy, of raising up ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the shadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apostolical institution; and, to enforce their observance, had recourse to royal acts of arbitrary power.

It was evident that there was a settled design of restoring, in all its splendour, what the Protestants called Romish idolatry, though the most violent means should be necessary to compass it. This project gave the more umbrage, as it was supported by the prejudices and intrigues of a presumptuous queen, who had brought from France an immoderate passion for popery and arbitrary power.

It can scarce be imagined what acrimony these alarming suspicions had raised in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to subside. But the spirit of fanaticism made choice of those troublesome times to recal every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was become more odious to the dissenters, since so many customs had been introduced into it which they considered as superstitious. An order was issued, that both kingdoms should conform to the worship and discipline of the episcopal church. This law included the Presbyterians, who then began to be called Puritans, because they professed to take the pure and simple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice. It was extended likewise to all the foreign Calvinists that were in the kingdom, whatever difference there might be in their opinions. This hierarchal worship was enjoined to the regiments, and trading companies, that were in the several countries in Europe. Lastly, the English ambassadors were required to separate from all communion with the foreign protestants; so that England lost all the influence she had abroad, as the head and support of the reformation.

In

In this fatal crisis, most of the Puritans were divided between submission and opposition. Those who would neither stoop to yield, nor take the pains to resist, turned their views towards North-America, to seek for that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them. The enemies of their peace attempted to shut this retreat against these devout fugitives, who wanted to worship God in their own way in a desert land. Eight ships that lay at anchor in the Thames ready to sail, were stopped; and Cromwell is said to have been detained there, by that very king whom he afterwards brought to the scaffold. Enthusiasm, however, stronger than the rage of persecution, surmounted every obstacle; and that region of America was soon filled with Presbyterians. The comfort they enjoyed in their retreat, gradually induced all those of their party to follow them, who were not atrocious enough to take delight in those dreadful catastrophes which soon after made England a scene of blood and horror. Many were afterwards induced to remove thither in more peaceable times, with a view to advance their fortunes. In a word, all Europe contributed greatly to increase their population. Thousands of unhappy men, oppressed by the tyranny or intolerant spirit of their sovereign, took refuge in that hemisphere. Let us now endeavour to acquire some information respecting that country.

3. *Parallel between the Old and the New World.*

It is surprising that for so long a time so little should have been known of the new world even after it was discovered. Barbarous soldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper persons to give us just and clear notions of this half of the universe. It was the province of philosophy alone to avail itself of the informations scattered in the accounts of voyagers and missionaries, in order to see America such as nature hath

hath made it, and to investigate its affinity with the rest of the globe.

It is now pretty certain, that the new continent has not half the extent of surface as the old. On the other hand, the form of both is so singularly alike, that we might easily be seduced to draw consequences from this particular, if it were always not right to be upon our guard against the spirit of system, which often stops us in our researches after truth, and hinders us from attaining to it.

The two continents seem to form as it were two broad slips of land that begin from the arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, parted on the east and west by the ocean that surrounds them. Whatever may be the structure of these two continents, and the balance or symmetry of their form, it is plain their equilibrium does not depend upon their position. It is the inconstancy of the sea that makes the solidity of the earth. To fix the globe upon its basis, it seemed necessary to have an element which, floating incessantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other substances, and by its fluidity restore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have overthrown. Water, by the motion that is natural to it, and by its gravity likewise, is infinitely better calculated to keep up that harmony and that balance of the several parts round its centre. If our hemisphere has a very wide extent of land to the north, a mass of water of equal weight at the opposite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the same latitude, America will have a sea full of fish. Whilst forests of trees bending under the largest fruits, the most enormous quadrupeds, the most populous nations, elephants and men, press on the surface of the earth, and seem to absorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles, are found the whales, with innumerable multitudes of cods and herrings, with clouds of insects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the seas, as if to support

support the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either side; if, however, elephants, whales, or men, can be said to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a transient modification of the earth that composes it. In a word, the ocean rolls over this globe to fashion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers and sometimes it uncovers a hemisphere, a pole, or a zone; but in general it seems to affect more particularly the equator, as the cold of the poles in some measure takes off that fluidity which constitutes its essence, and imparts to it all its action. It is chiefly between the tropics that the sea spreads and is in motion, and that it undergoes the greatest change both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in those kinds of convulsions occasionally excited in it by tempestuous winds. The attraction of the sun, and the fermentations occasioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, must have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence; and the sea, to yield to this double impulse, must, it should seem, flow towards the equator. The flatness of the globe towards the poles can only be ascribed to that great extent of water that has hitherto prevented our knowing any thing of the lands near the south pole. The sea cannot easily pass from within the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones are not nearer the centre of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the sea then that constitutes the equilibrium with the land, and disposes the arrangement of the materials that compose it. One proof that the two regular slips of land which the two continents of the globe present at first view are not essentially necessary to its conformation, is, that the new hemisphere has remained covered with the waters of the sea a much longer time than the old. Besides, if there is a visible affinity between the two hemispheres, there may be differences between them as striking as the similitude is, which will destroy that supposed harmony we flatter ourselves that we shall find.

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When we consider the map of the world, and see the local correspondence there is between the isthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the cape of Good Hope and cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the East-Indies and that of the Leeward Islands, and between the mountains of Chili and those of Monomotapa, we are struck with the similarity of the several forms this picture presents. Every where we imagine we see land opposite to land, water to water, islands and peninsulas scattered by the hand of nature to serve as a counterpoise, and the sea by its fluctuation constantly maintaining the balance of the whole. But if, on the other hand, we compare the great extent of the Pacific Ocean, which parts the East and West Indies, with the small space the Ocean occupies between the coast of Guinea and that of Brasil; the vast quantity of inhabited land to the North, with the little we know towards the South; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from East to West, with that of the Cordileras which run from North to South; the mind is at a stand, and we have the mortification to see the order and symmetry vanish with which we had embellished our system of the earth. The observer is still more displeased with his conjectures, when he considers the immense height of the mountains of Peru. Then, indeed, he is astonished to see a continent so high and so lately discovered, the sea so far below its tops, and so recently come down from the lands that seemed to be effectually defended from its attacks by those tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the new hemisphere have been covered with the sea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

The broad and long rivers of America; the immense forests to the South; the spacious lakes and vast morasses to the North; the eternal snows between the tropics; few of those pure sands that seem to be the remains of an exhausted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool

and mild air in the same latitude as the sultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and severe climate under the same parallel as our temperate climates; and, lastly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees in the temperature of the old and new hemispheres; these are so many tokens of a world that is still in its infancy.

Why should the continent of America be so much warmer and so much colder in proportion than that of Europe, if it were not for the moisture the ocean has left behind, by quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the sea can possibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Asia. If the waters that still moisten the bowels of the earth in the new hemisphere had not covered its surface, man would very early have cut down the woods, drained the fens, consolidated a soft and watery soil by stirring it up and exposing it to the rays of the sun, opened a free passage to the winds, and raised dikes along the rivers: In short, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemisphere denotes a recent world; when the sea, rolling in the neighbourhood of its coasts, still flows obscurely in its channels. The sun less scorching, more plentiful rains, and thicker and more stagnating vapours, betray either the decay or the infancy of nature.

The difference of climate, arising from the waters having lain so long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diversity of causes must necessarily arise a very great diversity of effects. Accordingly we see more species of animals, by two thirds, in the old continent than in the new; animals of the same kind considerably larger; fiercer and more savage monsters, in proportion to the greater increase of mankind. On the other hand, nature seems to have strangely neglected the new world. The men have less strength and less courage; no beard and no hair: they are degraded in all the tokens of man-

hood; and but little susceptible of the lively and powerful sentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the first instinct, the first band of society, without which all the other factitious ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are still more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and consider them as the instruments that are to furnish to their wants; they rather sacrifice them to their own indolence, than consecrate them to their pleasures. This indolence is the great delight and supreme felicity of the Americans; of which the women are the victims by the continual labours imposed upon them. It must, however, be confessed, that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have sentenced the women to work, have been so equitable as to take upon themselves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fishing. But their indifference for the sex which nature has intrusted with the care of reproducing the species, implies an imperfection in their organs, a sort of state of childhood in the people of America, as in those of our continent who are not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This is a radical vice in the other hemisphere, the recency of which is discovered by this kind of imperfection.

But if the Americans are new people, are they a race of men originally distinct from those that cover the face of the old world? This is a question which ought not to be hastily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we assert that the Greenlanders first came from Norway, and then went over to the coast of Labrador; others will tell us, it is more natural to suppose that the Greenlanders are sprung from the Esquimaux, to whom they bear a greater resemblance than to the Europeans. If we should suppose that California was peopled from Kamtschatka, it may be asked what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-west of America.

rica. Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtschatka that the inhabitants of the old world must have gone over to the new, as it is by those two countries that the two continents are connected, or at least approach nearest to one another. Besides, how can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed spread from north to south; but it must naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cherished by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we must have recourse to the flood, which is the source and the solution of all difficulties in the history of nations.

Let us suppose, that the sea having overflowed the other hemisphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordileras, which are far higher than our mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon those heights, covered with snow, and surrounded with waters? How is it possible, that men, who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have survived the miseries of want, the inclemency of a tainted air, and those numberless calamities which must be the unavoidable consequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preserved and propagated in those times of general calamity, and in the succeeding ages of a languid existence? In defiance of all these obstacles, we must allow that America has been peopled by these wretched remains of the great devastation. Every thing carries the vestiges of a malady, of which the human race still feels the effects. The ruin of that world is still imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a species of men degraded and degenerated in their natural constitution, in their stature, in their way of life, and in their understandings, which have made so little progress in all the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marshy ground, must necessarily infect the very roots

and seeds both of the subsistence and multiplication of mankind. It must have required some ages to restore population, and still a greater number before the ground could be settled and dried so as to be fit for tillage and for the foundation of buildings. The earth must necessarily be purified before the air could clear, and the air must be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection therefore of nature in America is not a proof of its recent origin, but of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the same time as the other hemisphere, but may have been overflowed later. The large fossil bones that are found under ground in America, shew that it formerly had elephants, rhinoceroses, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have since disappeared from those regions. The gold and silver mines that are found just below the surface, are signs of a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than those that have overturned our hemisphere.

Suppose America had, by some means or other, been repeopled by our roving hords, that period would be so remote, that it would still give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemisphere. Three or four centuries will not then be sufficient to allow for the foundation of the empires of Mexico and Peru; for though we find no trace in these countries of our arts, or of the opinions and customs that prevail in other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police and a society established, inventions and practices, which, though they did not shew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long series of ages subsequent to this catastrophe. For though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country surrounded with waters, mountains, and other invincible obstacles, must have forced the men inclosed in it to unite after a time, though they might at first live in altercations and in continual and bloody wars, yet it was only in process of time that they could invent and establish a worship and a legislation, which they could not possibly

possibly have borrowed from remote times or countries. The single art of speech, and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, required more ages to train up an unconnected nation that must have created both those arts, than it would take up days to perfect a child in both. Ages bear not the same proportion to the whole race as years do to individuals. The former is to occupy a vast field, both as to space and duration; while the other has only some moments or instants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likeness and uniformity observable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly shew that they are not so ancient as those of our continent which differ so much from each other; but at the same time this circumstance seems to confirm that they did not proceed from any foreign hemisphere, with which they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate descent.

4. *Comparison between civilized people and savages.*

WHATEVER may be the case with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, a more interesting object of inquiry, perhaps, is, to determine whether these untutored nations are more or less happy than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whether the condition of rude man left to mere animal instinct, whose day, which is spent in hunting, feeding, producing his species, and reposing himself, is the model of all the rest of his days, is better or worse than the condition of that wonderful being, who makes his bed of down, spins and weaves the thread of the silk-worm to clothe himself, has exchanged the cave, his original abode, for a palace, and has varied his indulgences and his wants in a thousand different ways.

It is in the nature of man that we must look for his means of happiness. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Present subsistence; and, if he thinks

thinks of futurity; the hopes and certainty of enjoying that blessing. The savage, who has not been driven to the frigid zones, is not in want of this first of necessities. If he lays in no stores, it is because the earth and the sea are reservoirs always open to supply his wants. Fish and game are to be had all the year, and will make up for the deficiency of the dead seasons. The savage has no close houses, or commodious fire-places; but his furs answer all the purposes of the roof, the garment, and the stove. He works but for his own benefit; sleeps when he is weary, and is a stranger to watchings and restless nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profession annexed to his birth; a duty of the nation, not a family bondage. The savage is serious, but not melancholy; and his countenance seldom bears the impression of those passions and disorders that leave such shocking and fatal marks on ours. He cannot feel the want of what he does not desire, nor can he desire what he is ignorant of. Most of the conveniences of life are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleasures are a relief to appetites, which are not excited in his sensations. He seldom experiences any of that weariness that arises from unsatisfied desires, or that emptiness and untastiness of mind that is the the offspring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the savage is subject to none but natural evils.

But what greater happiness than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholesome and delicate, than that of the savage. He has foster clothes, and a habitation better secured against the inclemencies of the weather. But the common people, who are to be the basis and object of civil society, those numbers of men who in all states bear the burden of hard labour, cannot be said to live happy, either in those empires where the consequences of war and the imperfection of the police has reduced them to a state of slavery, or in those governments where the progress of luxury and policy has reduced them

to a state of servitude. The mixed governments sometimes afford some sparks of happiness, founded on a shadow of liberty; but this happiness is purchased by torrents of blood, which repel tyranny for a time only to let it fall the heavier upon the devoted nation, sooner or later doomed to oppression. Let us but observe how Caligula and Nero have revenged the expulsion of the Tarquins and the death of Cæsar.

Tyranny, we are told, is the work of the people, and not of kings. But if so, why do they suffer it? Why do they not repel the encroachments of despotism; and while it employs violence and artifice to enslave all the faculties of men, why do they not oppose it with all their powers? But is it lawful to murmur and complain under the rod of the oppressor? Will it not exasperate and provoke him to pursue the victim to death? The cries of servitude he calls rebellion; and they are to be stifled in a dungeon, and sometimes on a scaffold. The man who should assert the rights of man, would perish in neglect and infamy. Tyranny, therefore, must be endured, under the name of authority.

If so, to what outrages is not the civilized man exposed! If he is possessed of any property, he knows not how far he may call it his own, when he must divide the produce between the courtier who may attack his estate, the lawyer who must be paid for teaching him how to preserve it, the soldier who may lay it waste, and the collector who comes to levy unlimited taxes. If he has no property, how can he be assured of a permanent subsistence? What species of industry is there secured against the vicissitudes of fortune, and the encroachments of government?

In the forests of America, if there is a scarcity in the north, the savages bend their course to the south. The wind or the sun will drive a wandering clan to more temperate climates. Between the gates and bars that shut up our civilized states, if famine, war, or pestilence, should consume an empire, it is a prison where all must expect to perish in misery, or in the horrors

horrors of slaughter. The man who is unfortunately born there must endure all extortions, all the severities that the inclemency of the seasons and the injustice of government may bring upon him.

In our provinces, the vassal, or free mercenary, digs and ploughs the whole year round, on lands that are not his own, and whose produce does not belong to him; and he is even happy, if his assiduous labour procures him a share of the crops he has sown and reaped. Observed and harrassed by a hard and restless landlord, who grudges him the very straw on which he rests his weary limbs, the wretch is daily exposed to diseases, which, joined to his poverty, make him wish for death, rather than for an expensive cure, followed by infirmities and toil. Whether tenant or subject, he is doubly a slave: if he has a few acres, his lord comes and gathers where he has not sown; if he is worth but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horses, he must go with them upon services; if he has nothing but his person, the prince takes him for a soldier. Every where he meets with masters, and always with oppression.

In our cities, the workman and the artist who have establishments are at the mercy of greedy and idle masters, who by the privilege of monopoly have purchased of government a power of making industry work for nothing, and of selling its labours at a very high price. The lower class have no more than the sight of that luxury of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occasions them, and by the insolence of the pomp that mortifies and tramples upon them.

Even supposing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines, and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that perils of navigation and commerce were less pernicious than the roving life of the savages, who live upon hunting and fishing; suppose that men, who are ever lamenting the sorrows and affronts that arise merely from opinion, are less unhappy than the savages, who never shed a tear in
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the midst of the most exasperating tortures; there would still remain a wide difference between the fate of the civilized man and the wild Indian, a difference entirely to the disadvantage of social life. This is the injustice that reigns in the partial distribution of fortunes and stations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cause of oppression.

In vain does custom, prejudice, ignorance, and hard labour, stupify the lower class of mankind, so as to render them insensible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from seeing and feeling the injustice of political order in the distribution of good and evil. How often have we heard the poor man expostulating with Heaven, and asking what he had done, that he should deserve to be born in an indigent and dependent station. Even if great conflicts were inseparable from more exalted stations, which might be sufficient to balance all the advantages and all the superiority that the social state claims over the state of nature, still the obscure man, who is unacquainted with those conflicts, sees nothing in a high rank but that affluence which is the cause of his own poverty. He envies the rich man those pleasures to which he is so accustomed, that he has lost all relish for them. What domestic can have a real affection for his master, or what is the attachment of a servant? Was ever any prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his subjects? If we prefer our condition to that of the savages, it is because civil life has made us incapable of bearing some natural hardships which the savage is more exposed to than we are, and because we are attached to some indulgences that custom has made necessary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accustom himself to live among savages, and return to the state of nature. We have an instance of this in that Scotchman who was cast away on the island of Fernandez, where he lived alone, and was happy as soon as he was so taken up with supplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his name, and

and even the utterance of words. After four years, he felt himself eased of the burden of social life, when he had lost all reflexion or thought of the past, and all anxiety for the future.

Lastly, the consciousness of independence being one of the first instincts in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent subsistence, is incomparably happier than the rich man, restrained by laws, masters, prejudices, and fashions, which incessantly remind him of the loss of his liberty. To compare the state of the savages to that of children, is to decide at once the question that has been so warmly debated by philosophers, concerning the advantages of the state of nature, and that of social life. Children, notwithstanding the restraints of education, are in the happiest age of human life. Their habitual cheerfulness, when they are not under the schoolmaster's rod, is the surest indication of the happiness they feel. After all, a single word may determine this great question. Let us ask the civilized man, whether he is happy; and the savage, whether he is unhappy. If they both answer in the negative, the dispute is at an end.

Civilized nations, this parallel must certainly be mortifying to you: but you cannot too strongly feel the weight of the calamities under which you groan. The more painful this sensation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true causes of your sufferings. You may at last be convinced that they proceed from the confusion of your opinions, from the defects of your political constitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual opposition to the laws of nature.

After this inquiry into the moral state of the Americans, let us return to the natural state of their country. Let us see what it was before the arrival of the English, and what it is become under their dominion.

5. *In what state the English found North America, and what they have done there.*

THE first Europeans who went over to settle English colonies, found immense forests. The vast trees, that grew up to the clouds, were so encumbered with creeping plants, that they could not be got at. The wild beasts made these woods still more inaccessible. They met only with a few savages, clothed with the skins of those monsters. The human race, thinly scattered, fled from each other, or pursued only with intent to destroy. The earth seemed useless to man; and its powers were not exerted so much for his support, as in the breeding of animals, more obedient to the laws of nature. The earth produced every thing at pleasure without assistance, and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrolled profusion for the benefit of all, not for the pleasure or conveniences of one species of beings. The rivers now glided freely thro' the forests; now spread themselves quietly in a wide morass; from hence issuing in various streams, they formed a multitude of islands, encompassed with their channels. The spring was restored from the spoils of autumn. The leaves dried and rotted at the foot of the trees, supplied them with fresh sap to enable them to shoot out new blossoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious flights of birds. The sea, dashing against the coasts, and indenting the gulphs, threw up shoals of amphibious monsters, enormous whales, crabs, and turtles, that sported uncontrolled on the desert shores. Their nature exerted her plastic power, incessantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and asserting the freedom of the earth and the sea.

But man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North America. He introduced symmetry, by the assistance of all the instruments of art. The impenetrable woods were instantly cleared, and made

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room for commodious habitations. The wild beasts were driven away, and flocks of domestic animals supplied their place; whilst thorns and briars made way for rich harvests. The waters forsook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the sea, by deep canals. The coasts were covered with towns, and the bays with ships; and thus the new world, like the old, became subject to man. What powerful engines have raised that wonderful structure of European industry and policy? Let us proceed to the particulars.

BOOK

B O O K I.

ENGLISH COLONIES SETTLED
AT HUDSON'S BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND,
NOVA SCOTIA, NEW ENGLAND,
NEW YORK, AND NEW JERSEY.

C H A P. I.

Of HUDSON'S BAY.

1. *Climate. Customs of the inhabitants. Trade.*

IN the remotest part stands a solitary object, distinct from the whole, which is called Hudson's bay. This bay, of about ten degrees in length, is formed by the ocean in the distant and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is about six leagues; but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then extremely dangerous. This danger arises from mountains of ice, some of which are said to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or six years duration in little gulphs constantly filled with snow, are forced out of them by north-west winds, or by some other extraordinary cause. The best way of avoiding them is to keep as near as possible to the northern coast, which must necessarily be less obstructed and most free by the natural directions of both winds and currents.

The north-west wind, which blows almost constantly in winter, and very often in summer, frequently raises violent storms within the bay itself, which is rendered still more dangerous by the number of shoals

shoals that are found there. Happily, however, small groups of islands are met with at different distances, which are of a sufficient height to afford a shelter from the storm. Besides these small Archipelagos, there are in many places large piles of bare rock; but, except the *Alga Marina*, the bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern seas. Throughout all the countries surrounding this bay, the sun never rises or sets without forming a great cone of light; this phenomenon is succeeded by the *Aurora Borealis*, which tinges the hemisphere with coloured rays of such a brilliancy, that the splendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithstanding this, there is seldom a bright sky. In spring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs; and in winter, with an infinite number of small icicles.

Though the heats in the summer are pretty considerable for six weeks or two months, there is seldom any thunder or lightning, owing, no doubt, to the great number of sulphureous exhalations, which however, are sometimes set on fire by the *Aurora Borealis*; and this light flame consumes the barks of the trees, but leaves their trunks untouched.

One of the effects of the extreme cold or snow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning those animals white in winter, which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has bestowed upon them all, soft, long, and thick furs, the hair of which falls off as the weather grows milder. In most of these quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and generally speaking all those parts in which the circulation is slower because they are most remote from the heart, are extremely short. Wherever they happen to be somewhat longer, they are proportionably well covered. Under this heavy sky, all liquors become solid by freezing, and break whatever vessels contain them. Even spirits of wine loses its fluidity. It is not uncommon to see fragments of large rocks loosened and detached from the great mass, by the force of the frost.

frost. All these phenomena, common enough during the whole winter, are much more terrible at the new and full moon, which in these regions has an influence upon the weather, the causes of which are not known.

In this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a substance resembling sea-coal, have been discovered. In other respects, the soil is extremely barren. Except the coasts, which are for the most part marshy, where there grows a little grass and some soft wood, the rest of the country offers nothing but very high moss and a few weak shrubs thinly scattered.

This sterility of nature extends itself to every thing. The human race are few in number, and scarce any of its individuals above four feet high. Their heads bear the same enormous proportion to the rest of their bodies, as those of children do. The smallness of their feet makes them awkward and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a beauty, seem almost a deformity in these people, because we see nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold that contracts and restrains the springs of growth, and is fatal to the progress of animal as well as of vegetable life. Besides this, all their men, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occasioned from the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleshy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Esquimaux, which inhabit not only the coast of Labrador, from whence they have taken their name, but likewise all that tract of country which extends itself from the point of Belle-Isle to the most northern parts of America.

The inhabitants of Hudson's bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat face, with short but flattened noses, the pupil of their eyes yellow and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their sex: amongst others, very long and flabby breasts. This defect, which is not natural, arises from their custom of giving suck to their children

dren till they are five or six years old. The children pull their mothers breasts with their hands, and almost suspend themselves by them.

It is not true that there are races of the Esquimaux entirely black, as has been since supposed, and afterwards accounted for; nor that they live underground. How should they dig into a soil, which the cold renders harder than stone? How is it possible they should live in caverns where they would be infallibly drowned by the first melting of the snows? What, however, is certain, and almost equally surprising, is, that they spend the winter under huts run up in haste, and made of flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live without any other fire but that of a lamp hung up in the middle of the shed, for the purpose of dressing their game and the fish they feed upon. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour arising from this small flame, is sufficient to make their huts as hot as stoves.

The Esquimaux dwell constantly near the sea, which supplies them with all their provisions. Both their constitution and complexion partake of the quality of their food. The flesh of the seal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink; which produces in them all an olive complexion, a strong smell of fish, an oily and tenacious sweet, and sometimes a sort of scaly leprosy. This last is, probably, the reason why the mothers have the same custom as the bears of licking their young ones.

This nation, weak and degraded by nature, is notwithstanding most intrepid upon a sea that is constantly dangerous. In boats made and sewed together in the same manner as goat-skin bottles, but at the same time so well closed that it is impossible for water to penetrate them, they follow the shoals of herrings thro' the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and seals at the peril of their lives. One stroke of the whale's tail is sufficient to drown a hundred of them, and the seal is armed with teeth to devour those he cannot drown; but the hunger of
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the Esquimaux is superior to the rage of these monsters. They have an inordinate thirst for the whale's oil; which is necessary to preserve the heat in their stomachs, and defend them from the severity of the cold. Indeed whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fish of the north, are supplied by nature with a degree of fat which prevents the muscles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating. Every thing in these arctic regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are resinous.

The Esquimaux are notwithstanding subject to two fatal disorders; the scurvy, and the loss of sight. The continuation of the snows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the sun on the ice, dazzled their eyes in such a manner, that they are almost constantly obliged to wear shades made of very thin wood, through which small apertures for the light have been bored with fish-bones. Doomed to a six-months night, they never see the sun but obliquely; and then it seems rather to blind them, than to give them light. Sight, the most delightful blessing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A still more cruel evil, which is the scurvy, consumes them by slow degrees. It insinuates itself into their blood, changes, thickens, and impoverishes the whole mass. The fogs of the sea, which they inspire; the dense and inelastic air they breathe in their huts, which are shut up from all communication with the external air; the continued and tedious inactivity of their winters; a mode of life alternately roving and sedentary; every thing, in short, serves to increase this dreadful illness; which in a little time becomes contagious, and, spreading itself throughout their habitations, is but too probably transmitted by the means of generation.

Notwithstanding these inconveniences, the Esquimaux is so passionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the most favoured spot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen

zen deserts. One of the reasons of it may be, that he finds it difficult to breathe in a softer and cooler climate. The sky of Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though constantly obscured by thick and fetid vapours, is too clear for an Esquimaux. Perhaps, too, there may be something in the change of life and manners still more contrary to the health of savages than the climate. It is not impossible but that the indulgences of an European may be a poison to the Esquimaux.

Such were the inhabitants of the country discovered in 1610 by Henry Hudson. This intrepid mariner, in searching after a north-west passage to the south-seas, discovered three streights, through which he hoped to find out a new way to Asia by America. He sailed boldly into the midst of the new gulph: and was preparing to explore all its parts, when his treacherous ship's company put him into the long-boat, with seven others, and left him without either arms or provisions exposed to all the dangers both of sea and land. The barbarians, who refused him the necessaries of life, could not, however, rob him of the honour of the discovery; and the bay which he first found out will ever be called by his name.

The miseries of the civil war which followed soon after, had, however, made the English forget this distant country, which had nothing to attract them. More quiet times had not yet brought it to their remembrance, when Groseillers and Radisson, two French Canadians, who had met with some discontent at home, informed the English, who were engaged in repairing by trade the mischiefs of discord, of the profits arising from furs, and of their claim to the country that furnished them. Those who proposed the business shewed so much ability, that they were intrusted with the execution; and the first establishment they formed succeeded so well, that it surpassed their own hopes as well as their promises.

This success alarmed the French; who were afraid,
and

and with reason, that most of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudson's bay. Their alarms were confirmed by the unanimous testimony of their *Coueurs de Bois*, who since 1656 had been four times as far as the borders of the strait. It would have been a desirable thing to have gone by the same road to attack the new colony; but the distance being thought too considerable, notwithstanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition should be made by sea. The fate of it was trusted to *Groseillers* and *Radisson*, who had been easily brought back to a regard for their country.

These two bold and restless men sailed from *Quebec* in 1682, upon two vessels badly fitted out; but on their arrival, finding themselves not strong enough to attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they thought to have taken. From this time there began a rivalry between the two companies, one settled at *Canada*, the other in *England*, for the exclusive trade of the bay, which was constantly fed by the disputes it gave birth to, till at last, after each of their settlements had been frequently taken by the other, all hostilities were terminated by the treaty of *Utrecht*, which gave up the whole to *Great Britain*.

Hudson's Bay, properly speaking, is only a mart for trade. The severity of the climate having destroyed all the corn sown there at different times, has frustrated every hope of agriculture, and consequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extensive coast, there are not more than ninety or a hundred soldiers, or factors, comprised in four bad forts, of which *York fort* is the principal. Their business is to receive the furs which the neighbouring savages bring in exchange for merchandise, of which they have been taught the value and use.

Though these skins are of much more value than those which come out of countries not so far north, yet they are cheaper. The savages give ten beaver skins

skins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for six knives, two for a pound of glass beads, six for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of snuff. Combs, looking-glasses, kettles, and brandy, sell in proportion. As the beaver is the common measure of exchange, by another regulation as fraudulent as the first, two otter's skins and three martins are required instead of one beaver. Besides this tyranny, which is authorised, there is another which is at least tolerated, by which the savages are constantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and measure of what is given them; and the fraud amounts to about one third of the value.

From this regular system of imposition it is easy to guess that the commerce of Hudson's bay is a monopoly. The capital of the company that is in possession of it was originally no more than 10,565 l. 12 s. 6 d. and has been successively increased to 104,146 l. 12 s. 6 d. This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thousand skins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make so exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealousy and clamours of the nation. Two thirds of these beautiful furs are either consumed in kind in the three kingdoms, or made use of in the national manufactures. The rest are carried into Germany, where the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

2. *Whether there is a passage at Hudson's Bay leading to the East Indies.*

BUT it is neither the acquisition of these savage riches, nor the still greater emoluments that might be drawn from this trade if it were made free, which has fixed the attention of England as well as that of all Europe upon this frozen continent. Hudson's bay always has been and is still looked upon as the nearest road from Europe to the East-Indies, and to the richest parts of Asia.

Cabot

Cabot was the first who entertained an idea of a north-west passage to the south seas ; but his discoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a crowd of English navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to savage coasts which no mortal had ever visited before. These bold and memorable expeditions were more brilliant than really useful. The most fortunate of them did not ever furnish a fresh conjecture on the end that was proposed. The Dutch, less frequent in their trials, less animated in the means by which they pursued them, were of course not more successful, and the whole began to be treated as a chimera, when the discovery of Hudson's Bay rekindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguished.

At this period the attempts were renewed with fresh ardour. Those that had been made before in vain by the mother country, now taken up with her own intestine commotions, were pursued by New England, whose situation was favourable to the enterprise. Still, however, for some time there were more voyages undertaken than discoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in suspense by the different accounts of the adventures divided amongst themselves. While some maintained the possibility, others the probability, and others again asserted the certainty of the passage ; the accounts they gave, instead of clearing up the point, involved it in still greater darkness. Indeed, these accounts are so full of obscurity and confusion, so many things are concealed in them, and they display such visible marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that with the utmost desire of deciding, it is impossible to build any thing like a solid judgment upon testimonies so suspicious. At length, the famous expedition of 1746 threw some kind of light upon a point which had remained enveloped in darkness for two centuries past. But upon what grounds have the later navigators taken up better hopes ? What are the experiments on which they found their conjectures ? Let us proceed to

to give an account of their arguments. There are three facts in natural history, which henceforward must be taken for granted. The first is, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or less into the other sea, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reservoirs by larger or smaller openings; whence it follows, that this periodical motion is scarce perceptible in the Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and in other gulphs of the same nature. A second matter of fact is, that the tides are much later and much weaker in places more remote from the ocean, than in those which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that violent winds, which blow in a direction with the tides, make them rise above their ordinary boundaries; and that those which blow in a contrary direction retard the motion of the tides, at the same time that they diminish their swell.

From these principles, it is most certain, that if Hudson's bay were no more than a gulph inclosed between two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconsiderable; they would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from the source, and they would be much less strong wherever they had to resist opposite winds. But it is proved by observations made with the greatest skill and precision, that the tides are very high throughout the whole of the bay. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom than even at the very mouth of the bay, or at least in the neighbourhood of it. It is proved, that even this height increases whenever the wind blows from a corner opposite to the strait. It is, therefore, certain, that Hudson's bay has a communication with the ocean, besides that which has been already found out.

Those who have endeavoured to explain these very striking facts, by the supposition of a communication of Hudson's bay with Baffin's bay, or with Davis's straits, are evidently mistaken. They would not scruple

scruple to allow it, if they only considered, that the tides are much lower in Davis's straits, and in Baffin's bay, than in Hudson's.

But if the tides in Hudson's bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern sea, in which they are constantly much weaker, it follows that they must come from some part in the south sea. And this is still further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the highest tides ever observed upon these coasts are always occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow directly against the mouth of the straits.

Having thus determined, as much as the nature of the subject will permit, the existence of this passage so long and so vainly wished for, the next point is to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. Every thing inclines us to think, that the attempts, hitherto made without either choice or method, ought to be directed towards Welcome bay, on the western coast. First, the bottom of the sea is found there at the depth of about eleven fathom; which is an evident sign that the water comes from some ocean, as such a transparency is incompatible either with the waters discharged from rivers, or with melted snow or rain. Secondly, the current keeps this place always free from ice, whilst all the rest of the bay is covered with it; and their violence cannot be accounted for but by supposing them to come from some western sea. Lastly, the whales, who towards autumn always go in search of the warmest climates, are found in great abundance in these parts towards the end of summer; which would seem to indicate, that they have a way of going from thence to the south seas, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable, that the passage is very short. All the rivers that empty themselves into the western coast of Hudson's bay are small and slow, which seems to prove that they do not come from afar; and that consequently the lands which part the two seas are of a small extent. This argument is strengthened by

the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occasioned by the retarded progression of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain sign that the ocean from whence those tides come is very near. If the passage is short, and not very far to the north, as every thing seems to promise, we may also presume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents observable in these latitudes, which do not allow any cakes of ice to continue in them, cannot but give some weight to this conjecture.

The discoveries that still remain to be made are of so much importance, that it would be folly to give them up. If the passage so long sought for were once found, communications would be opened between parts of the globe which hitherto seem to have been separated by nature from each other. They would soon be extended to the continent of the south seas, and to all the numerous islands scattered upon that immense ocean. The intercourse which has subsisted nearly for three centuries between the commercial nations of Europe and the most remote parts of India, being happily freed from the inconveniences of a long navigation, would be much brisker, more constant, and more advantageous. It is not to be doubted that the English would be desirous of securing an exclusive enjoyment of the fruits of their activity and expences. This wish would certainly be very natural, and would be very powerfully supported. But as the advantages obtained would be of such a nature, that it would be impossible always to preserve the sole possession of it, we may venture to foretel, that all nations must in time become partakers of it with them. Whenever this happens, both the straits of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deserted, and the Cape of Good Hope much less frequented. Whatever the consequences of the discovery may be, it is equally for the interest and dignity of Great Britain to pursue her attempts, till they are either

either crowned with success, or the impossibility of succeeding is fully demonstrated. The resolution she has already taken in 1745 of promising a considerable reward to the seamen who shall make this important discovery, though it be an equal proof of the wisdom and generosity of her councils, is not alone sufficient to attain the end supposed. The English ministry cannot be ignorant, that all the efforts made either by government, or individuals, will prove abortive, till such time as the trade to Hudson's bay shall be entirely free. The company in whose hands it has been ever since 1670, not content with neglecting the chief object of its institution, by taking no steps itself for the discovery of the North-west passage, has thrown every impediment in the way of those who from love of fame, or other motives, have been prompted to this great undertaking. Nothing can ever alter this iniquitous spirit, for it is the very spirit of monopoly.

CHAP. II.

OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

I. *Description.*

HAPPILY the exclusive privilege which prevails at Hudson's bay, and seems to exclude all nations from the means of acquiring knowledge and riches, does not extend its oppression to Newfoundland. This island, situated between 46 and 52 degrees of north latitude, is separated from the coast of Labrador only by a channel of moderate breadth, known by the name of Belleisle Straits. It is of a triangular form, and a little more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only speak by conjecture of the inland parts of it, from the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent in-

utility of succeeding in the attempt. The little that is known of this strait is, that it is full of very steep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and some very narrow and sandy valleys. These inaccessible places are stocked with deer, which multiply with the greater ease, from the security of their situation. No savages have ever been seen there except some Esquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting season. The coast abounds with creeks, roads, and harbours; is sometimes covered with moss, but more commonly with small pebbles, which seem as if they had been placed there with design, for the purpose of drying the fish caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat stones reflect the sun's rays, the heat is excessive. The rest of the country is intensely cold; less so, however, from its situation, than from the heights, the forests, the winds, and above all the vast mountains of ice which come out of the northern seas, and are stopped on these coasts. The sky towards the north and western parts is constantly serene; it is much less so towards the east and south, both of them being too near the great bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog.

This island was originally discovered in 1497, by the Venetian Cabot, at that time in the service of England, who made no settlement there. It was presumed, from the several voyages made after this, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from it, that it was fit for nothing but the cod fishery, which is very common in that sea. Accordingly the English used to send out at first small vessels in the spring, which returned again in autumn with their freight of fish both salt and fresh. The consumption of this article became almost universal, and there was a great demand for it particularly among the Roman Catholics. The English availed themselves of this superstition, to enrich themselves at the expence of the clergy, who had formerly drawn their wealth from England; and thought of forming

forming settlements there. The first, that were established at great intervals from one another, were unsuccessful, and were all forsaken soon after they were founded. The first that acquired any consistence was in 1608, the success of which raised such a spirit of emulation, that, within forty years, all the space between Conception-bay and Cape Ras was peopled by a colony amounting to above four thousand souls. Those who were employed in the fishery, being forced, both from the nature of their occupations and that of the soil, to live at a distance from each other, cut paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's; where, in an excellent harbour, protected by two mountains at a very small distance from each other, and large enough to contain above two hundred ships, they used to meet with privateers from the mother country, who carried off the produce of their fishery, and gave them other necessaries in exchange for it.

The French did not wait for this prosperity of the English trade, to turn their thoughts to Newfoundland. They had for a long time frequented the southern parts of the island, where the Malouins in particular came every year to a place they had called the Petit Nord. After this some of them fixed without any order upon the coast from Cape Ray to Chapeau Rouge; and at length they became numerous enough to form something like a town in the bay of Placentia, where they had every convenience that could make their fishery successful.

Before the bay is a road of about a league and a half in breadth; not, however, sufficiently sheltered from the N. N. W. winds, which blow there with extreme violence. The strait which forms the entrance of the bay is so confined by rocks, that only one vessel can enter at a time, and even that must be towed in. The bay itself is about eighteen leagues long, and at the extremity of it there is an exceeding safe harbour which holds 150 ships. Notwithstanding the advantage of such a situation for securing to

France the whole fishery of the southeren coast of Newfoundland, the ministry of Versailles paid very little attention to it. It was not till 1687 that a small fort was built at the mouth of the strait, in which a garrison was placed of about fifty men.

Till this period, the inhabitants whom necessity had fixed upon this barren and savage coast had been happily forgotten; but from that time began a system of oppression which continued increasing every day from the rapaciousness of the successive governors. This tyranny, by which the colonists were prevented from acquiring that degree of competency that was necessary to enable them to pursue their labours with success, must also hinder them from increasing their numbers. The French fishery, therefore, could never prosper as that of the English. Notwithstanding this, Great Britain did not forget, at the treaty of Utrecht, the inroads that had so often been made upon their territories by their enterprizing neighbours, who, supported by the Canadians accustomed to expeditions and to the fatigues of the chase, trained up in the art of bush-fighting, and exercised in sudden attacks, had several times carried devastation into her settlements. This was sufficient to induce her to demand the entire possession of the island, and the misfortunes of the times obliged the French to submit to this sacrifice; not, however, without reserving to themselves the right of fishing not only on one part of the island, but also on the Great Bank, which was considered as belonging to it.

2. Fisheries.

THE fish which makes these latitudes so famous, is the cod. They are never above three feet long, and often less; but there are no fish in the whole ocean whose mouth is so large in proportion to their size, or which are so voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware, iron, and glass, are often found in their bellies.

bellies. The stomach, indeed, does not digest these hard substances, as it hath long been thought; but it hath the power of inverting itself, like a pocket, and thus discharges whatever loads it.

The cod fish is found in the northern seas of Europe. The fishery is carried on by thirty English, sixty French, and 150 Dutch vessels, one with another from 80 to 100 tons burden. Their competitors are the Irish, and especially the Norwegians. The latter are employed, before the fishing season, in collecting upon the coast the eggs of the cod, which is a bait necessary to catch pilchards. They sell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thousand tons of this fish, at 7s. 10d. half-penny per ton. If it could be disposed of, a great deal more would be caught; for an able naturalist, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one single cod, has found 9,344,000 of them. This profusion of nature must still be increased at Newfoundland, where the cod fish is found in infinitely greater plenty.

The fish of Newfoundland is also more delicate, though not so white; but it is not an object of trade when fresh, and only serves for the food of those who are employed on the fishery. When it is salted and dried, or only salted, it becomes an useful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only salted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank.

This slip of land is one of those mountains formed under water by the earth which the sea is continually washing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate so much in a point, that it is difficult to assign the precise extent of it; but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it, on the European side, is a kind of bay, which has been called the Ditch. Throughout all this space, the depth of water is very different; in some places there are only five, in others above sixty fathom. The sun scarce ever shews itself there, and the sky is generally covered with a thick cold

cold fog. The waves are always agitated, and the winds always impetuous around it, which must be owing to the sea being irregularly driven forward by currents, which bear sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and strike against the borders, which are every where perpendicular, and repel them with equal violence. This is most likely to be the true cause; because on the bank itself, at some distance from the coast, it is as quiet as in a bay, except when there happens to be a forced wind which comes from a greater distance.

From the middle of July to the latter end of August there is no cod found either upon the great bank or any of the small ones near it; but all the rest of the year the fishery is carried on. The ships employed in it are commonly from 50 to 150 tons, and carry not less than twelve or more than twenty-five men aboard. These fishermen are provided with lines, and before they set to work, catch a fish called the caplin, which is a bait for the cod.

Previous to their entering upon the fishery, they build a gallery on the outside of the ship, which reaches from the main mast to the stern, and sometimes the whole length of it. This gallery is furnished with barrels, of which the top is beaten out. The fishermen place themselves within these, and are sheltered from the weather by a pitched covering fastened to the barrels. As soon as they catch a cod, they cut out its tongue, and give it to one of the boys to carry to a person appointed for the purpose, who immediately strikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall thro' a small hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it, and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it sink through another hatchway into the hold; where it is salted and ranged in piles. The person who salts it, is attentive to leave salt enough between the rows of fish which form the piles, to prevent their touching each other, and yet not to leave too much, as either excess would spoil the cod.

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In the right of nature, the fishing upon the great bank ought to have been common to all mankind: notwithstanding which, the two powers who have colonies in North-America have made very little difficulty of appropriating it to themselves; and Spain, who alone could have any claim to it, and who from the number of her monks might have pleaded the necessity of asserting it, entirely gave up the matter at the last peace; since which time the English and French are the only nations who frequent these latitudes.

In 1768, France set out 145 ships; the expence of which is valued at 111,431 *l.* 5 *s.* These vessels, which carried in all 8830 tons, were manned by 1700 men; who upon an average, and according to calculations ascertained by being often repeated, must have caught each 700 fish; so that the whole of the fishery must have produced 1,190,000.

These cod are divided into three separate classes; the first consists of those which are twenty-four inches in length or upwards, the second comprehends those which measure from nineteen to twenty-four, and the third takes in all that are under nineteen inches. If the fishery has yielded, as it commonly does, two fifths of good fish, two fifths of moderate fish, and one fifth of bad, and if the fish has been sold at the common price, which is 6 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* the hundred weight, the produce of the whole fishery will amount to 45,937 *l.* 10 *s.* The hundred weight is composed of 136 cod of the first quality, and of 272 of the second; which two sorts taken together sell for 7 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* the hundred. Only 136 cod are required to make up the hundred weight of the third class; but this hundred weight sells only for one third of the other, and is worth only 2 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* when the first is worth 7 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* Consequently the 1,190,000 cod really caught, and reduced in this manner, make only 700,000 cod, which at 6 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* the hundred weight, which is the mean price of the three sorts of fish, will produce only 45,937 *l.* 10 *s.* Out of this the crew must
receive

receive for their share, which is one fifth, 9,187*l.* 10*s.* Consequently there remains only 36,750*l.* profit for the undertakers. This is not sufficient, as will be easily made evident. First, we must deduct the expences of unloading; which, for the 145 ships, cannot be reckoned at less than 380*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* The insurance of 111,431*l.* 5*s.* at five per cent. must amount to 5,571*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* As much also must be deducted for the interest of the money. The value of the ships must be estimated at two thirds of the capital advanced, and will therefore be 74,287*l.* 10*s.* If we allow no more than five per cent. for the annual repair of the ships, we shall still be obliged to subtract 3,714*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* from the profits. All these sums added together make a loss of 15,631*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* which being assessed upon a capital of 111,431*l.* 5*s.* amounts to a loss of 12*s.* 3*d.* farthing per cent.

The French ministry must, therefore, either absolutely give up the fishery of the green cod, which is consumed in the capital, and in the northern provinces of France, or must take off the enormous duties which are at present imposed upon this kind of consumption. If they delay much longer to sacrifice this insignificant portion of the public revenue to so valuable a branch of trade, they will soon have the mortification to see the revenue disappear with the trade that produced it. The habit of trading, the hopes of amendment, the aversion that traders have for selling their ships and stock under prime cost; these are the only motives that induce them still to continue the cod fishery: motives which must certainly have an end; and, if we may judge from the general appearance of dissatisfaction, that end is not very far off.

The English, the produce of whose fishery is subject to no tax, have not the same reasons for giving it up. They have also another advantage; which is, that not coming from Europe, as their competitors do, but only from Newfoundland or other places

places almost as near, they can make use of very small vessels, which are easily managed, are not much raised above the water, and where sails may be brought level with the deck, so that being little exposed, even to the most violent winds, their work is seldom interrupted by the roughness of the weather. Besides, they do not, as other seamen, lose their time in procuring baits, which they bring along with them. In a word, their sailors are more inured to the fatigues, more accustomed to the cold, and more ready at the business.

The English, however, attend very little to the fishery of the great cod; because they have no mart for disposing of it. In this branch they do not sell half so much as their rivals. As their cod is prepared with very little care, they seldom make up a complete cargo of it. For fear of its spoiling, they commonly quit the Great Bank, with two thirds and very often with not more than half their lading, which they sell to the Spanish and Portuguese, and amongst their own countrymen. But they make themselves amends for this trifling exportation of the green cod, by the great superiority they have acquired in all markets for the dry cod.

This branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called the Wandering Fishery, belongs to vessels which sail every year from Europe to Newfoundland, at the end of March, or in April. As they come near the island, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, which the northern currents push towards the south, which is broken to pieces by repeated shocks, and melts sooner or later at the return of the heats. These cakes of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftiest mountains, and reach to above sixty or eighty fathoms under water. When they are joined to lesser pieces, they sometimes occupy a space of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Interest, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as soon as possible, that they may

may chuse the harbours most favourable to the fishery, makes them brave the rigour of the seasons and of the elements, which all conspire against human industry. Neither the most formidable rampart erected by military art, nor the dreadful cannonade of a besieged town, nor the terrors of the most skilful and obstinate sea-fight, require so much intrepidity and experience to encounter, as do these enormous floating bulwarks which the sea opposes to these small fleets of fishermen. But the most insatiable of all passions, the thirst of gold, surmounts every obstacle, and carries the mariner across these mountains of ice to the spot where the ships are to take in their lading.

The first thing to be done after landing is to cut wood and erect scaffolds. These labours employ every body. When they are finished, the company divide: one half of the crew stays ashore to cure the fish; and the other goes on board in small boats, with three men in those which are intended for the fishery of the caplin, and four for the cod. These last, which are the most numerous, sail before it is light, generally at the distance of three, four, or five leagues from the coast, and return in the evening to the scaffolds near the sea side, where they deposite the produce of the day.

When one man has taken off the cod's head and emptied the body, he gives it to another, who slices it and puts in salt, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then heaped up in piles, and left for some days to exsude. It is then again laid on the strand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we see it have in Europe.

There are no fatigues whatever to be compared with the labours of this fishery, which hardly leave those who work at it four hours rest in the night. Happily, the salubrity of the climate keeps up the health of the people against such severe trials; and these labours would be thought nothing of, if they were rewarded by the produce.

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But there are some harbours where the strand is at so great a distance from the sea, that a great deal of time is lost in getting to them; and others, in which the bottom is of solid rock, and without varech, so that the fish do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fish grow yellow from a mixture of fresh water with the salt; and some, in which it is burned up by the reverberation of the sun's rays reflected from the mountains. Even in the most favourable harbours, the people are not always sure of a successful fishery. The fish cannot abound equally in all parts; it is sometimes found to the north, sometimes to the south, and at other times in the middle of the coast, according as it is driven by the winds or attracted by the caplin. The fishermen, who happen to fix at a distance from the places which the fish may chuse to frequent, are very unfortunate; for their expences are all thrown away by the impossibility of following the fish with all that is requisite for the fishery.

The fishery ends about the beginning of September, because at that time the sun is no longer powerful enough to dry the fish; but when it has been successful, the managers give over before that time, and make the best of their way either to the Caribbees, or to the Roman Catholic states in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the advantages of the first market, which might be lost by an over stock.

In 1768, France sent out in this trade 114 vessels, carrying in all 15,590 tons; the prime cost of which, together with the first expences of setting out, had amounted to 247,668*l.* 15*s.* The united crews, half of which were employed in taking the fish, and the other half in curing it, consisted of 8022 men. Every fisherman must have taken for his share 6000 cod, and consequently the produce of the whole must have been 24,066,000 cod. Experience shews that there are 125 cod to each quintal. Consequently 24,066,000 must have made 162,528 quintals. Each quintal upon an average sold at about 14*s.* 5*d.*

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which makes for the whole sale 138,875*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* three farthings. As every hundred quintal of cod yields one barrel of oil, 192,528 quintals must have yielded 1925 barrels, which at 5*l.* 5*s.* a barrel, makes 10,106*l.* 3*s.* Add to these, the profits of freight made by the ships in returning home from the ports where they sold their cargoes, which are estimated at 8662*l.* 10*s.* and the total profits of the fishery will not be found to have amounted to more than 157,644*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* three farthings.

We may spare our readers a detail of the expences of unloading, which are as troublesome in their minuteness as in their insignificancy. The calculations of these have been made with the greatest care and attention, and the accounts confirmed by very intelligent and disinterested men, who from their professions must have been the proper judges of this matter. They amount in the whole to 30,436*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* so that the neat produce of the fishery amounted only to 127,208*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* halfpenny.

From these profits the insurance-money must be deducted, which at 6 per cent. upon a capital of 247,668*l.* 15*s.* amounts to 14,860*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* We must also reckon the interest of the money; making at 5 per cent. 12,383*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* Neither must we omit the wear of the ships; the prime cost of which, making half the whole capital, must be set down at 123,834*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* This wear therefore, which cannot be reckoned at less than 6 per cent. must amount to 6191*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* halfpenny. Admitting all these circumstances, which indeed cannot be called in question, it follows that the French have lost upon this fishery, in 1768, 30,061*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* and consequently 10*s.* 7*d.* three-eighths per cent. of their capital.

Such losses, which unfortunately have been but too often repeated, will wean the nation more and more from this ruinous branch of trade. Individuals who still carry it on, will soon give it up; and it is even probable, that, in imitation of the English, they would have done so already, if like them they had been

been able to make themselves amends by the stationary fishery.

By Stationary Fishery, we are to understand that which is made by the Europeans who have settlements on those coasts of America where the cod is most plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fishery, because it requires much less expence, and may be continued much longer. These advantages the French enjoyed as long as they remained peaceable possessors of Acadia, Cape Breton, Canada, and part of Newfoundland. They have lost them one after another by the errors of government; and, from the wreck of these riches, have only preserved a right of salting and drying their fish to the north of Newfoundland, from cape Bona Vista to Point Rich. All the fixed establishments left by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the island of St Peters, and the two islands of Miquelon, which they are not even at liberty to build fortifications upon. There are 800 inhabitants at St Peters, not more than one hundred at great Miquelon, and only one family on the smaller. The fishery, which is extremely convenient upon the two first, is entirely impracticable on the lesser island; but this last supplies them both with wood, and particularly St Peters, which had none of its own. Nature, however, has made amends for this deficiency at St. Peters, by an excellent harbour, which indeed is the only one in this small archipelago. In 1768, they took 24,390 quintals of cod: but this quantity will not much increase: because the English not only refuse the French the liberty of fishing in the narrow channel which separates these islands from the southern coasts of Newfoundland, but have even seized some of the sloops which attempted it.

This severity, which is not warranted by treaty, and only maintained by force, is rendered still more odious by the extensiveness of their own possessions, which reach to all the islands where the fish is to be found. Their principal settlement is at Newfoundland, where there are about 8000 English, who are

all employed in the fishery. No more than nine or ten ships a-year are sent out from the mother country for this purpose; and there are some few more which engage in other articles of commerce; but the greater part only exchange the productions of Europe for fish, or carry off the fruit of the industry of the inhabitants.

Before 1755, the fisheries of the two rival nations were nearly equal, from their own accounts; with this difference only, that France, on account of its population and religion, consumed more at home, and sold less: but since she has lost her possessions in North America, one year with another, the two fisheries, that is the Stationary and the Wandering, united, have not yielded more than 216,918 quintals of dry cod; which is barely sufficient for the consumption of its southern provinces at home, and of course admits of no exportation to the colonies.

It may be asserted, that the rival nation, on the contrary, has increased its fishery two thirds since its conquests, making in all 651,115 quintals; the profits of which, valuing each quintal at no more than 12 s. 3 d. a difference owing to its being cured with less care than the French fish, will amount to 398,807 l. 6 s. 6 d. One fourth of this is sufficient for the consumption of Great Britain and her colonies; consequently what is sold in Spain, Portugal, and all the sugar-islands, amounts to a sum of 299,105 l. 9 s. 10 d. halfpenny returned to the mother country either in specie or commodities. This object of exportation would have been still more considerable, if, when the court of London made the conquest of Cape Breton and St John's, they had not been so inhuman as to drive out the French whom they found settled there; who have never yet been replaced, and probably never will be. The same bad policy has also been followed in Nova Scotia.

C H A P. III.

Of N O V A S C O T I A.

1. *The French give it up to England, after having been a long time in possession of it themselves.*

N O V A S C O T I A, by which is at present to be understood all the coast of 300 leagues in length contained between the limits of New England and the south coast of the river St. Lawrence, seemed at first to have comprehended only the great triangular peninsula lying nearly in the middle of this space. This peninsula, which the French called Acadie, is extremely well situated for the ships which come from the Caribbees to water at. It offers them a great number of excellent ports in which ships may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon the coast, and still more upon small banks at the distance of a few leagues. The soil, which is very gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying the cod: it abounds besides with good wood, and land fit for several sorts of cultivation, and extremely well situated for the fur trade of the neighbouring continent. Though this climate is in the temperate zone, the winters are long and severe; and they are followed by sudden and excessive heats, to which generally succeed very thick fogs, which last a long time. These circumstances make this rather a disagreeable country, tho' it cannot be reckoned an unwholesome one.

It was in 1604 that the French settled in Acadie, four years before they had built the smallest hut in Canada. Instead of fixing towards the east of the peninsula, where they would have had larger seas, an easy navigation, and plenty of cod, they chose a small bay, afterwards called the French bay, which had none of these advantages. It has been said,

that they were induced by the beauty of Port-Royal, where a thousand ships may ride in safety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathom of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is most probable that the founders of this colony were led to chuse this situation, from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the exclusive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumstance: That both the first monopolizers, and those who succeeded them, took the utmost pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom restlessness or necessity brought into these regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, from fishing, and from every kind of culture; chusing rather to engage the industry of these adventurers in hunting, or in trading with the savages.

The mischiefs arising from a false system of administration at length discovered the fatal effects of exclusive charters. It would be an insult to the truth and dignity of history to say that this happened in France from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when these rights were most openly violated. This sacred tie, which alone can secure the safety of the people, while it gives a sanction to the power of kings, was never known in France. But in the most absolute government a spirit of ambition sometimes affects what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of justice. The ministers of Lewis XIV. who wished to make their master respectable that they might reflect some dignity on themselves, perceived that they should not succeed without the support of riches; and that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both these resources had been hitherto choked up in the colonies by the restraints laid upon all things from an improper interference. These impediments were at last removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able, to make use of this liberty.

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This colony was yet in its infancy, when the settlement which has since become so famous under the name of New-England was first made in its neighbourhood. The rapid success of the cultures in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of prosperity did not excite any jealousy between the two nations. But when they began to suspect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to secure to themselves the sole property of it; and they were unfortunate enough to succeed.

At their first arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninsula, as well as the forests of the neighbouring continent, peopled with small nations of savages who went under the general name of Abenakis. Though equally fond of war as other savage nations, they were, however, more sociable in their manners. The missionaries, easily insinuating themselves amongst them, had so far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthusiasts of them. At the same time that they taught them their religion, they inspired them with that hatred which they themselves entertained for the English name. This fundamental article of their new worship, being that which most exerted its influence on their senses, and the only one that favoured their passion for war; they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refused to make any exchange with the English, but also frequently attacked and plundered their settlements. Their attacks became more frequent, more obstinate, and more regular, since they had chosen St Casteins, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander; he having settled among them, married one of their women, and conforming in every respect to their mode of life.

When the English saw that all efforts either to reconcile the savages, or to destroy them in their forests, were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which
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they looked upon with reason as the only cause of all these calamities. Whenever the least hostility took place between the two mother countries, the peninsula was attacked. Having no defence from Canada, from which it was too far distant, and very little from Port-royal, which was only surrounded by a few weak pallisadoes, it was constantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded some satisfaction to the New-Englanders to ravage this colony, and to retard its progress; but still this was not sufficient to dispel the suspicions excited by a nation almost more formidable by what she is able to do, than by what she really does. Obligated as they were, however unwillingly, to restore their conquest at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain should acquire such a superiority as would enable her to dispense with this restitution. The end of the war on account of the Spanish succession brought on the decisive moment; and the court of Versailles was for ever deprived of a possession of which it had never known the importance.

The ardour which the English had shewn for the possession of this territory did not manifest itself afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very slight fortification at Port-royal, which had taken the name of Annapolis in honour of Queen Anne, they contented themselves with putting a very small garrison in it. The indifference shewn by the government infected the nation, a circumstance not usual in a free country. Not more than five English families came over to Acadia, which still remained inhabited by the first colonists; who were only persuaded to stay upon a promise made them of never being compelled to bear arms against their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cherished by the government, respected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a series of prosperities which had rendered them illustrious, and aggrandized them, they were inspired with that

that spirit of patriotism which arises from success. They considered it as glorious to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians, therefore, who, in submitting to a new yoke, had sworn never to bear arms against their former standards, were called the French Neutrals.

There were twelve or thirteen hundred of them settled in the capital, the rest were dispersed in the neighbouring country. No magistrate was ever set over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them; and he himself was a total stranger to them.

2. *Manners of the French who remained subject to the English government in Nova Scotia.*

HUNTING and fishing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might have still supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been established in the marshes and the low lands by repelling the sea and rivers, which covered these plains, with dikes. These grounds yielded fifty for one at first, and afterwards fifteen or twenty for one at least. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them; but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common.

At the same time the immense meadows were covered with numerous flocks. They computed as much as sixty thousand head of horned cattle; and most families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen. The habitations, built all of wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial farmer's house in Europe. They bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which
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made a variety in their food for the most part wholesome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cyder, to which they sometimes added rum. Their usual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own sheep. With these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of them had a desire for articles of greater luxury, they drew them from Annapolis or Louisbourg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs.

The neutral French had nothing else to give their neighbours, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves, because each separate family was able and had been used to provide for its own wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper-currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North-America. Even the small quantity of specie which had slipped into the colony did not inspire that activity in which consists its real value.

Their manners were of course extremely simple. There never was a cause, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences arose from time to time among them were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which and their religious services the inhabitants paid a twenty-seventh part of their harvest.

These were always plentiful enough to afford more means than there were objects for generosity. Real misery was untirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt, without ostentation on the one hand, and without meanness on the other. It was in short a society of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those

those connections of gallantry which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the two sexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied them with all the necessaries of life for a twelve-month. Here he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others. In 1749, all together made a population of eighteen thousand souls.

At this period Great Britain perceived of what consequence the possession of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which necessarily left a great number of men without employment, furnished an opportunity, by the disbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vast and fertile territory. The British ministry offered particular advantages to all who would go over and settle in Acadia. Every soldier, sailor, and workman, was to have fifty acres of land himself, and ten for every person he carried over in his family. All non-commissioned officers were allowed eighty for themselves, and fifty for their wives and children; ensigns, 200; lieutenants, 300; captains, 460; and all officers of a higher rank, 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax-free for the first ten years, and never to pay above one shilling for fifty acres. Besides this, the government engaged to advance or reimburse the expences of passage, to build houses, to furnish all the necessary instruments for fishery or agriculture, and to defray the expences of subsistence for the first year. These encouragements determined three thousand seven hundred and fifty persons, in the month of May 1749, to go to America, rather than run the risk of starving in Europe.

The new colony was intended to form an establishment to the south-east of Acadia, in a place which
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the savages had formerly called Chebueto, and the English Halifax. This situation was preferred to several others where the soil was better, for the sake of establishing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fishery, and fortifying one of the finest harbours in America. But as it was the spot most favourable for the chase, the English were obliged to dispute it with the Micmac Indians, who mostly frequented it. These savages defended with obstinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not till after very great losses that the English drove them out from their possessions.

This war was not entirely finished, when there was some agitation discovered among the neutral French. A people, whose manners were so simple, and who enjoyed such liberty, could not but perceive that it was impossible there should be any serious thoughts in settling in countries so near to them without their independence being affected by it. To this apprehension was added that of seeing their religion in danger. Their priests, either heated by their own enthusiasm, or secretly instigated by the governors of Canada, persuaded them to credit every thing they chose to suggest against the English, whom they called Heretics. This word, which has so powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where they were offered lands. This resolution many of them executed immediately, without considering the consequences of it; the rest were preparing to follow, as soon as they had provided for their safety. The English government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always base and cruel in those to whom power affords milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming English subjects, they assembled those together who were not yet gone; and when they had collected them, immediately embarked them

them on board of ships, which transported them to the other English colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

Such are the fruits of national jealousies, of that rapaciousness inherent to all governments which incessantly preys both upon mankind and upon land! What an enemy loses is reckoned a gain; what he gains, is looked upon as a loss. When a town cannot be taken, it is starved; when it cannot be maintained, it is burnt to ashes, or its foundation rased. Rather than surrender, a ship or a fortification is blown up by powder and by mines. A despotic government separates its enemies from its slaves by immense deserts, to prevent the eruptions of the one and the emigrations of the other.

Thus Spain chose rather to make a wilderness of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the spice-trade. They have oftentimes even thrown whole cargoes into the sea, rather than they would sell them at a low price. France rather chose to give up Louisiana to the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the English; and England destroyed the French vessels, to prevent their returning to France. Can we assert, after this, that policy and society were instituted for the happiness of mankind? Yes, they were instituted to screen the wicked man, and to secure the man in power.

3. *Present state of Nova Scotia.*

SINCE the emigration of a people who owed their happiness to their virtuous obscurity, Nova Scotia has been but thinly inhabited. It seems as if the envy that depopulated the country had blasted it. At least the punishment of the injustice falls upon the authors of it; for there is not a single inhabitant

to be seen upon all that length of coast between the river St Lawrence and the peninsula; nor do the rocks, the sands, and marshes, with which it is at present covered, make it probable that it ever will be peopled. The cod, indeed, which abounds in some of its bays, draws every year a small number of fishermen during the season.

There are only three settlements in the rest of the province. Annapolis, the most ancient of them, waits for fresh inhabitants to take the place of the unhappy Frenchmen who were driven from it; and it seems to promise them rich returns from the fertility of her soil.

Lunenburg, the second settlement, was founded a few years ago by 800 Germans come from Halifax. At first, it did not promise much success; but it is considerably improved by the unremitted industry of that warlike and wise people, who, contented with defending their own territory, seldom go out of it, but to cultivate others which they are not ambitious of conquering. They have fertilized all the countries under the English dominion, wherever chance had conducted them.

Halifax will always continue to be the principal place of the province; an advantage it owes to the encouragements lavished upon it by the mother country. Their expences for this settlement from its first foundation to the year 1769, amounted to more than 3937*l.* 10*s.* per annum. Such favours were not ill bestowed upon a city, which, from its situation, is the natural rendezvous of both the land and sea forces which Great Britain sometimes thinks herself obliged to maintain in America, as well for the defence of her fisheries and the protection of her sugar-islands, as for the purpose of maintaining her connections with her northern colonies. Halifax, indeed, derives more of its splendor from the motion and activity which is constantly kept up in its ports, than either from its cultivation which is trifling, or from its fisheries which have not been considerably improved,

improved, though they consist of cod, mackerel, and the seal. It is not even in the state it should be as a fortified town. The malversations of persons employed, who instead of the fortifications ordered and paid for by the mother country, have only erected a few batteries without any ditch round the city, make it liable to fall without resistance into the hands of the first enemy that attacks it. In 1757, the inhabitants of the county of Halifax rated the value of their houses, cattle, and merchandise, at about 295,312 *l.* 10 *s.* This sum, which makes about two thirds of the riches of the whole province, has not increased above one fourth since that time.

The desire of putting a stop to this state of languor was, probably, one of the motives which induced the British government to constitute a court of admiralty for all North America, and to place the seat of it at Halifax, in 1763. Before this period, the justices of peace used to be the judges of all violations of the act of navigation; but the partiality these magistrates used to shew in their judgements for the colony where they were born and which had chosen them, made their ministry useless, and even prejudicial to the mother country. It was presumed, that if enlightened men were sent from Europe, and well supported, they would impress more respect for their determination. The event has justified this policy. Since that regulation, the commercial laws have been better observed; but still great inconveniences have ensued from the distance of many provinces from the seat of this new tribunal. It is probable, that, to remedy these, administration will be forced to multiply the number of the courts, and disperse them in places convenient for the people to have access to them. Nova Scotia will then lose the temporary advantage it gains from being the resort of those who come for justice; but it will, probably, find out other natural sources of wealth within itself. It has some, indeed, that are peculiar to it. The exceeding fine flax it produces, of which the three kingdoms are so

much in want, must hasten the progress of its improvement.

CH A P. IV.

Of NEW ENGLAND.

I. *Foundation.*

NEW ENGLAND, like the mother country, has signalized itself by many acts of violence ; and was actuated by the same turbulent spirit. It took its rise in troublesome times, and its infant-state was disturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, and called North Virginia ; but no Europeans settled there till the year 1608. The first colony, which was weak and ill directed, did not succeed ; and for some time after, there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the sake of trading with the savages, and like them disappeared again for the rest of the year. Fanaticism, which had depopulated America to the south, was destined to repopulate it in the north. At length some English presbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that universal asylum of liberty, resolved to found a church for their sect in a new hemisphere. They therefore purchased, in 1621, the charter of the English North Virginia Company : for they were not poor enough to wait in patience till their virtues should have made them prosperous. Forty-one families, making in all 120 persons, set out, guided by enthusiasm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter ; and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy

lancholy prospect to men already exhausted with the fatigues of their journey. Near one half perished either from the cold, the scurvy, or distress; the rest were kept alive for some time by a spirit of enthusiasm, and the steadiness of character they had contracted under the persecution of episcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to fail, when it was revived by the arrival of sixty savage warriors, who came to them in the spring, headed by their chief. Freedom seemed to exult that she had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two such different people; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendship and protection. The old tenants assigned for ever to the new ones all the lands in the neighbourhood of the settlement they had formed under the name of New Plymouth; and one of the savages, who understood a little English, staid with them to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and instruct them in the manner of fishing upon their coast.

This kindness enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with seeds and all sorts of domestic animals. At first they came but slowly; but the persecution of the puritans in England increased the number of proselytes (as is always the case) to such a degree in America, that in 1630, they were obliged to form different settlements, of which Boston soon became the principal. These first settlers were not merely ecclesiastics, who had been driven out of their preferment for their opinions; nor those sectaries, influenced by new opinions, that are so frequent among the common people. There were among them several persons of high rank, who having embraced puritanism either from motives of caprice, ambition, or even of conscience, had taken the precaution to secure themselves an asylum in these distant regions. They had caused houses to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cause of civil and religious liberty should prove abortive.

The same fanatical spirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother country, kept the colony in a state of subordination ; or rather, a severity of manners had the same effect as laws in a savage climate.

The inhabitants of New England lived peaceably for a long time without any regular form of polity. It was not that their charter had not authorised them to establish any mode of government they might chuse ; but these enthusiasts were not agreed amongst themselves upon the plan of their republic, and government was not sufficiently concerned about them to urge them to secure their own tranquillity. At length they grew sensible of the necessity of a regular legislation ; and this great work, which virtue and genius united, have never attempted but with diffidence, was boldly undertaken by blind fanaticism. It bore the stamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been formed.

There was in this new code a singular mixture of good and evil, of wisdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any share in the government, except he was a member of the established church. Witchcraft, perjury, blasphemy, and adultery, were made capital offences ; and children were also punished with death, either for cursing or striking their parents. On the other hand, marriages were to be solemnized by the magistrate. The price of corn was fixed at 2s. 11d. halfpenny per bushel. The savages who neglected to cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them by law. Europeans were forbidden under a heavy penalty to sell them any strong liquors or warlike stores. All those who were detected either in lying, or drunkenness, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped. But at the same time that amusements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes, one might swear by paying a penalty of a shilling, and break the sabbath for three pounds. It was esteemed an indulgence to be able to atone by money for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a rash oath. But it is still more extraordinary that the worship of images was forbidden to the puritans on
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pain of death; which was also inflicted on Roman Catholic priests who should return to the colony after they had been banished, and on Quakers who should appear again after having been whipped, branded, and expelled. Such was the abhorrence for these sectaries, who had themselves an aversion for every kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one of them into the country, or harboured him but for one hour, was exposed to pay a considerable fine.

2. Fanaticism occasions great calamities there.

THOSE unfortunate members of the colony, who, less violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magistrate in matters of religion, were persecuted with still greater rigour. This appeared a blasphemy to those divines who had rather chosen to quit their country than to shew any deference to episcopal authority. By that natural tendency of the human heart from the love of independence to that tyranny, they changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only seemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themselves in order to deny it to others. This system was supported by the severities of the law, which attempted to put a stop to every difference in opinion, by imposing capital punishment on all who dissented. Whoever was either convicted, or even suspected, of entertaining sentiments of toleration, was exposed to such cruel oppressions, that they were forced to fly from their first asylum, and seek refuge in another. They found one on the same continent; and as New England had been first founded by persecution, its limits were extended by it. This severity, which a man turns against himself, or against his fellow creatures, and makes him either the victim or the oppressor, soon exerted itself against the Quakers. They were whipped, banished, and imprisoned. The proud simplicity of these new enthusiasts, who

who in the midst of tortures and ignominy praised God, and called for blessings upon men, inspired a reverence for their persons and opinions, and gained them a number of proselytes. This circumstance exasperated their persecutors, and hurried them on to the most atrocious acts of violence; and they caused five of them, who had returned clandestinely from banishment, to be hanged. It seemed as if the English had come to America to exercise upon their own countrymen the same cruelty the Spaniards had used against the Indians. This spirit of persecution was at last suppressed by the interposition of the mother country, from whence it had been brought.

Cromwell was no more: enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, which composed his character; factions, rebellions, and proscriptions; were all buried with him, and England had the prospect of calmer days. Charles the second, at his restoration, had introduced amongst his subjects a social turn, a taste for convivial pleasures, gallantry, and diversions, and for all those amusements he had been engaged in while he was wandering from one court to another in Europe, to recover the crown which his father had lost upon a scaffold. Nothing but such a total change of manners could possibly have secured the tranquillity of his government upon a throne marked with blood. He was one of those voluptuaries, whom the love of sensual pleasures sometimes excites to sentiments of compassion and humanity. Moved with the sufferings of the Quakers, he put a stop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguish the spirit of persecution that prevailed in America.

The colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the son of that Sir Henry Vane, who had had such a remarkable share in the disturbances of his country. This obstinate and enthusiastic young man, in every thing resembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himself, or to suffer others to remain quiet,
had

had contrived to revive the obscure and obsolete questions of grace and free will. The disputes upon these points ran very high; and would, probably, have plunged the colony into a civil war, if several of the savage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the disputants, and to massacre great numbers of them. The colonists, heated with their theological contests, paid at first very little attention to this considerable loss. But the danger at length became so urgent and so general, that all took up arms. As soon as the enemy was repulsed, the colony resumed its former dissensions; and the frenzy which they excited, broke out, in 1692, in a war, marked with as many atrocious instances of violence as any ever recorded in history.

There lived in a town of New England, called Salem, two young women who were subject to convulsions, accompanied with extraordinary symptoms. Their father, minister of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in consequence cast his suspicions upon an Indian girl who lived in his house, he compelled her by harsh treatment to confess that she was a witch. Other women, upon hearing this, seduced by the pleasure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulsions which proceeded only from the nature of their sex, were owing to the same cause. Three citizens, pitched upon by chance, were immediately thrown into prison, accused of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left exposed to wild beasts and birds of prey. A few days after, sixteen other persons, together with a counsellor, who, because he refused to plead against them, was supposed to share in their guilt, suffered in the same manner. From this instant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with these horrid and gloomy scenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modesty, fortune, honour, virtue, the most dignified employments of the state, nothing was sufficient to exempt

exempt from the suspicions of a people infatuated with visionary superstition. Children of ten years of age were put to death; young girls were stripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft searched for upon their bodies with the most indecent curiosity; those spots of the scurvy which age impresses upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident signs of the infernal power. Fanaticism, wickedness, and vengeance, united, selected out their victims with pleasure. In default of witnesses, torments were employed to extort confessions dictated by the executioners themselves. If the magistrates, tired out with executions, refused to punish, they were themselves accused of the crimes they would no longer pursue; the very ministers of religion raised false witnesses against them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorse excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and consternation of every kind, increased these prodigies of folly and horror. The prisons were filled, the gibbets left standing, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehensions. The most prudent persons quitted a country imbrued with the blood of its inhabitants; and those that remained sought for nothing but rest in the grave. In a word, nothing less than the total and immediate subversion of the colony was expected; when on a sudden, in the height of the storm, the waves subsided, and a calm ensued. All eyes were opened at once, and the excess of the evil awakened the minds which it had at first stupified. Bitter and painful remorse was the immediate consequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general fast, and public prayers were offered up to ask forgiveness for the presumption of having supposed that heaven could have been pleased with sacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

Posterity will probably never know exactly what was the cause or remedy of this dreadful disorder. It had, perhaps, its first origin in the melancholy which these persecuted enthusiasts had brought with them

them from their own country, which had increased with the scurvy they had contracted at sea, and which had gathered fresh strength from the vapours and exhalations of a soil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniences and hardships inseparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceased like all other epidemical distempers, exhausted by its very communication; as all the disorders of the imagination are dispelled in the transports of a delirium. A perfect calm succeeded this agitation; and the puritans of New-England have never since been seized with so gloomy a fit of enthusiasm.

3. *Government, Population, Cultures, Manufactures, Trade and Navigation, of New-England.*

THIS colony, bounded to the north by Canada, to the west by New York, and to the east and south by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles on the borders of the sea, and upwards of fifty miles in the inland parts.

The clearing of the lands is not done by chance as in the other provinces. From the first they were subjected to laws which are still religiously observed. No citizen whatever has the liberty of settling even upon unoccupied land. The government, which was desirous of preserving all its members from the inroads of the savages, and that they should be at hand to partake of the succours of a well regulated society, hath ordered that whole villages should be formed at once. As soon as sixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a school-master, the general congress allot them a situation, and permit them to have two representatives in the legislative body of the colony. The district assigned them always borders upon the lands already cleared, and generally contains six thousand square acres. These new people chuse out the spot
most

most convenient for their respective habitations, and it is usually of a square figure. The church is placed in the centre; and the colonists dividing the land among themselves, each incloses his property with a hedge. Some woods are reserved for a common. It is thus that New-England is continually aggrandizing itself, without discontinuing to make one complete and well-constituted province.

Though the colony is situated in the midst of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not so mild as that of some European provinces which are under the same parallel. The winters are longer, and more cold; the summers shorter, and more hot. The sky is commonly clear, and the rains more plentiful than lasting. The air has grown purer since its circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods; and malignant vapours, which at first carried off some of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of.

The country is divided into four provinces, which in the beginning had no connection with one another. The necessity of maintaining an armed force against the savages obliged them to form a confederacy in 1643, at which time they took the name of the United Colonies. In consequence of this league, two deputies from each establishment used to meet in a stated place to deliberate upon the common affairs of New-England, according to the instructions they had received from the assembly by which they were sent. This association controuled in no one point the right which every individual had of acting entirely as he pleased, without either the permission or approbation of the mother country. All the submission of these provinces consisted in a vague acknowledgment of the kings of Britain for their sovereigns.

Slight a dependence displeased Charles II. The province of Massachusetts's bay, which, though the smallest, was the richest and the most populous of the four, being guilty of some misdemeanour against government, the king seized that opportunity of taking away its charter in 1684; and it remained without

without one till the revolution; when it received another, which, however, did not answer its claims or expectations. The crown reserved to itself the right of nominating the governor, and appointing to all military employments and to all principal posts in the civil and juridical departments: allowing the people of the colony their legislative power, they gave the governor a negative voice and the command of the troops, which secured him a sufficient influence to enable him to maintain the prerogative of the mother country in all its force. The provinces of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, by timely submission, prevented the punishment that of Massachusetts had incurred, and retained their original charter. That of New-Hampshire had been always regulated by the same mode of administration as the province of Massachusetts's bay. The same governor presides over the whole colony, but with regulations adapted to the constitution of each province. According to the most exact calculations, the present population of New-England is computed at four hundred thousand inhabitants, which are more numerous to the south than to the north of the colony, where the soil is less fertile. Among such a number of citizens, there are few proprietors wealthy enough to leave the care of their plantations to stewards or farmers: most of them are planters in easy circumstances, who live upon their estates and are busied in the labours of the field. This equality of fortune, joined to the religious principles and to the nature of the government, gives this people a more republican cast than is to be observed in the other colonies.

None of our best fruits have degenerated New-England; it is even said, that the apple is improved, at least it has multiplied exceedingly, and made cyder a more common drink than in any other part of the world. All our roots and garden-stuff have had the same success; but the seeds have not thriven quite so well. Wheat is apt to be blighted, barley grows dry, and oats yield more straw than grain.

In default of these, the maize, which is usually consumed in making beer, is the resource of the common people. There are large and fruitful meadows, which are covered with numerous flocks.

The arts, though carried to a greater degree of perfection in this colony than in any of the others, have not made near the same progress as agriculture. There are not more than four or five manufactures of any importance.

The first which was formed, was that for building of ships. It maintained for a long time a degree of reputation. The vessels out of this dock were in great estimation, the materials of which they were constructed being found much less porous and much less apt to split than those of the more southern provinces. Since 1730, the numbers of them are considerably diminished, because the woods for building have been little attended to, and used for other purposes. To prevent this inconvenience, it was proposed to forbid the cutting of any of them within ten miles of the sea; and we know not for what reason this law, the necessity of which was so evident, was never put in force. The distilling of rum has succeeded better than the building of ships. It was begun from the facility the New-Englanders had of importing large quantities of melasses from the Caribbees. The melasses were at first used in kind for various purposes. By degrees they learnt to distil them. When made into rum, they supplied the neighbouring savages with it, as the Newfoundland fishermen did the other northern provinces, and sailors who frequented the coast of Africa. The degree of imperfection in which this art hath still remained in the colony, has not diminished the sale of it; because they have always been able to afford the rum at a very low price.

The same reason has both supported and increased the manufacture of hats. Though limited by the regulations of the mother country to the internal consumption of the colony, the merchants have found
means

means to surmount these obstacles, and to smuggle pretty large quantities of them into the neighbouring settlements.

The colony sells no cloths, but it buys very few. The fleeces of its flocks, as long, though not quite so fine, as the English ones, make coarse stuffs, which do extremely well for plain men who live in the country.

Some Presbyterians who were driven from the north of Ireland by the persecutions either of the government or of the clergy, first taught the New Englanders to cultivate hemp and flax, and to manufacture them. The linens made of them are since become one of the great resources of the colony.

The mother country, whose political calculations have not always coincided with the high opinion entertained of her abilities, has omitted nothing to thwart these several manufactures. She did not perceive, that, by this oppressive conduct of the government, those of her subjects who were employed in clearing this considerable part of the new world must be reduced to the alternative either of abandoning so good a country, or procuring from among themselves the things of general use and of immediate necessity. Indeed, even these resources would not have been sufficient to maintain them, if they had not had the good fortune and the address to open to themselves several other channels of subsistence, the origin and progress of which we must endeavour to trace.

The first resource they met with from without, was in the fishery. It has been encouraged to such a degree, that a regulation has taken place, by which every family who should declare that it had lived upon salt-fish for two days in the week during a whole year, should be disburdened of part of their tax. Thus commercial views enjoin abstinence from meat to the protestants, in the same manner as religion prescribes it to the catholics.

Mackerel is caught only in the spring at the mouth of the Pentagouet, a considerable river which empties

itself in Fundy bay, towards the extremity of the colony. In the very centre of the coast, and near Boston, the cod-fish is always in such plenty, that Cape Cod, notwithstanding the sterility of its soil, is one of the most populous parts of the country. Not content, however, with the fish caught in its own latitudes, New England sends every year about two hundred vessels, from thirty-five to forty tons each, to the great bank, to Newfoundland, and to Cape Breton, which commonly make three voyages a season, and bring back at least a hundred thousand quintals of cod. Besides, there are larger vessels which sail from the same ports, and exchange provisions for the produce of the fishery of those English who are settled in these frozen and barren regions. All this cod is afterwards distributed in the southern parts of Europe and America.

This is not the only article with which the British islands in the new world are supplied by New England. It furnishes them, besides, horses, oxen, hogs, salt meat, butter, tallow, cheese, flour, biscuit, Indian corn, pease, fruits, cyder, hemp, flax, and woods of all kinds. The same commodities pass into the islands belonging to the other nations, sometimes openly, sometimes by smuggling, but always in lesser quantities during peace than in time of war. Honduras, Surinam, and other parts of the American continent open similar markets to New England. This province also fetches wines and brandies from the Madeiras and the Azores, and pays for them with cod-fish and corn.

The ports of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, receive annually sixty or seventy of their ships. They come there laden with cod, wood for ship-building, naval stores, corn, and fish-oil; many of them return with olive-oil, salt, wine, and money, immediately to New England, where they land their cargoes clandestinely.

By this method, they elude the customs they would be obliged to pay in Great Britain, if they went there, as in pursuance of a positive order they ought
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to do. The ships which do not return to the original port are sold in those where they dispose of their cargo. They have frequently no particular address, but are freighted indifferently for every merchant and every port, till they meet with a proper purchaser.

The mother country receives from this colony yards and masts for the royal navy, planks, pot-ashes, pitch, tar, turpentine, a few furs, and, in years of scarcity, some corn. These cargoes come home in ships built by her own merchants, or bought by them of privateers, who build upon speculation.

Besides the trade New England makes of her own productions, she has appropriated great part of the conveying trade between North and South America, in consequence of which the New Englanders are looked upon as the brokers or Hollanders of that part of the world.

Notwithstanding this lively and continued exertion, New England has never yet been able to free herself from debt. She has never been able to pay exactly for what she received from the mother country, either in productions of her own or of foreign industry, or in those from the East-Indies; all which articles of trade amount annually to 393,750*l*.

She has still, however, trade enough to keep six thousand sailors in constant employment. Her marine consists of five hundred large vessels, which carry all together forty thousand tons burden; besides a great number of smaller vessels for fishing and for the coasting trade, which come out indifferently from all the open roads which are spread all over the coast. Almost all of them load and unload at Boston.

Boston, the capital of New England, is situated in a peninsula, about four miles long, at the bottom of the fine bay of Massachuset, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is sheltered from the impetuosity of the waves by a number of rocks which rise above the water; and by a dozen of small islands, the greater part of which are

fruitful and inhabited. These dykes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ships to come in together. At the end of the last century, a regular citadel, named Fort William, was erected in one of the islands upon this narrow channel. There are one hundred pieces of cannon, carrying forty-two pounders each, upon it, which are disposed in such a manner, that they can batter a ship fore and aft before it is possible for her to bring her guns to bear. A league further on, there is a very high light-house, the signals from which, in case of invasion, are perceived and repeated by the fortresses along the whole coast; at the same time that Boston has her own light-houses, which spread the alarm to all the inland country. Except in the case of a very thick fog, which a few ships may take advantage of to get into some of the smaller islands, the town has always five or six hours to prepare for the reception of the enemy, and to get together ten thousand militia, which can be raised at four and twenty hours notice. If a fleet should ever be able to pass the artillery of Fort William, it would infallibly be stopped by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and south of the place, command the whole bay, and would give time for all the vessels and commercial stores to be sheltered from cannon shot in the river Charles.

Boston port is large enough for six hundred vessels to anchor in it safely and commodiously. There is a magnificent pier constructed, far enough advanced in the sea for the ships to unload their goods without the assistance of a lighter, and to discharge them into the warehouses which are ranged on the north side. At the extremity of the pier the town appears, built in the form of a crescent round the harbour. According to the bills of mortality, which are become with reason the only rule of political arithmetic, it contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, composed of Anabaptists, Quakers, French refugees, English Presbyterians, and Church of England men.

men. The houses, furniture, dress, food, conversation, customs and manners, are so exactly similar to the mode of living in London, that it is impossible to find any other difference but that which arises from the overgrown population of large capitals.

C H A P. X.

Of New York and New Jersey.

1. *New York, founded by the Dutch, passes into the hands of the English.*

NEW-YORK, limited to the east by New-England, and bounded to the west by New-Jersey, occupies at first a very narrow space of twenty miles along the sea-shore, and, insensibly enlarging, extends above a hundred and fifty miles northward in the inland country.

This country was discovered by Henry Hudson in 1609. That celebrated navigator, after having made vain attempts under the patronage of the Dutch East-India company for the discovery of a north-west passage, veered about to the southward, and coasted along the continent, in hopes of making some useful discovery that might prove a kind of indemnification to the society for the trust they had reposed in him. He entered into a considerable river, to which he gave his name; and after having reconnoitred the coast and its inhabitants, returned to Amsterdam from whence he had set sail.

According to the European system, which considers the people of the new world as nothing, this country should have belonged to the Dutch. It had been discovered by a man in their service, who had taken possession of it in their name, and given up to them all the claims which he himself might have to it. His being an Englishman did not in the least
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invalidate these uncontrovertible titles. It must, therefore, have occasioned great surprise, when James I. asserted his pretensions to it, upon the principle that Hudson was born his subject; as if the real country of any man was not that in which he earns his subsistence. The king was so convinced of this, that he soon gave up the matter; and the republic sent in 1610 to lay the foundation of the colony in a country which was to be called New Belgia. Every thing prospered here. Fortunate beginnings seemed to announce a still greater progress, when in 1664 the colony was exposed to a storm which it could not possibly foresee.

England, which had not at that time those intimate connections with Holland that the ambition and successes of Lewis XIV. have given birth to since, had long seen with a jealous eye the prosperity of a small state in its neighbourhood, which, though but just formed, was always extending its prosperous trade to all parts of the world. She was secretly disturbed at the thoughts of not being on an equality with a power to whom, in the nature of things, she ought to have been greatly superior. These rivals in commerce and navigation, by their vigilance and oeconomy, gained the advantage over her in all the large markets of the whole universe. Every effort she made to establish a competition turned either to her loss or discredit, and she was obliged only to act a secondary part, whilst all the trade then known was evidently centering itself in the republic. At length, the nation felt the disgrace of her merchants; and resolved, that what they could not compass by industry should be secured to them by force. Charles II. notwithstanding his aversion for business, and his immoderate love of pleasure, eagerly adopted a measure which gave him a prospect of acquiring the riches of these distant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterprising than himself, encouraged him in these dispositions; and the deliberation

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concluded with their ordering the Dutch ships to be attacked, without any previous declaration of war.

An English fleet appeared before New Belgia in the month of August. It had three thousand men on board; and so numerous a force precluding every idea as well as every hope of resistance, the colony submitted as soon as it was summoned. The conquest was secured to the victors by the treaty of Breda; but it was again taken from them in 1673, when the intrigues of France had found means to set two powers at variance, who for their mutual interests ought always to be friends. A second treaty restored New Belgia to the English, who have remained in quiet possession of it ever since, under the name of New York.

It had taken that name from the duke of York, to whom it had been given by the king in 1664. As soon as he had recovered it, he governed it upon the same arbitrary principles which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whose hands were lodged powers of every kind, not contented with the exercise of the public authority, constituted themselves arbitrators in all private disputes. The country was then inhabited by Hollanders who had preferred these plantations to their own country, and by colonists who had come from New England. These people had been too long accustomed to liberty, to submit patiently for any time to so arbitrary an administration. Every thing seemed tending either to an insurrection or an emigration, when in 1683 the colony was invited to chuse representatives to settle its form of government. Time produced some other changes; but it was not till 1691 that a fixed plan of government was adopted, which has been followed ever since.

At the head of the colony is a governor appointed by the crown; which likewise appoints twelve counsellors, without whose concurrence the governor can sign no act. The commons are represented by twenty-seven deputies, chosen by the inhabitants; and these several bodies constitute the general assembly,

sembly, in which every power is lodged. The duration of this assembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and now continues for seven, like the British parliament, whose revolutions it has followed.

2 Flourishing state of New York. Causes of its prosperity.

SUPPORTED upon a government so solid, so favourable to that liberty which makes every thing prosper, the colony gave itself up entirely to all the labours which its situation could require or encourage. A climate much milder than that of New England, a soil superior to it for the cultivation of corn, and equally fit for that of every other production, soon enabled it to vie successfully with an establishment that had got the start of it in all its productions and in all the markets. If it was not equal in its manufactures, this inferiority was amply compensated by a fur-trade infinitely more considerable. These means of prosperity, united to a very great degree of toleration in religious matters, have raised its population to one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; five and twenty thousand of whom are able to bear arms, and constitute the national militia.

The colony would still have flourished much more, had not its prosperity been obstructed by the fanaticism of two governors, the oppressive conduct of some others, and the extravagant grants made to some individuals in too high favour; but these inconveniences, which are only temporary under the British government, have some of them ceased, and the rest of them are lessened. The province may, therefore, expect to see her productions doubly increased, if the two thirds of its territory, which still remain uncleared, should yield as much as the one third which has already been cultivated.

It is impossible to foresee what influence these riches

riches may have upon the minds of the inhabitants ; but it is certain they have not yet abused those they have hitherto acquired. The Dutch, who were the first founders of the colony, planted in it that spirit of order and oeconomy which is the characteristic of their nation ; and as they always made up the bulk of the people, even after these had changed masters, the example of their decent manners was imitated by all the new colonists brought amongst them by the conquest. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the persecution which drove them out of the Palatinate, or from the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this simple and modest way of life ; and the English and French, who were not accustomed to so much frugality, soon conformed ; either from motives of wisdom or emulation, to a mode of living less expensive and more familiar than that which is regulated by fashion and parade.

What has been the consequence ? That the colony has never run in debt with the mother country ; that it has by that means preserved an entire liberty in its sales and purchases, and been enabled always to give to its affairs the direction which has been most advantageous to them. Had the representatives carried the same principles into their administration, the province would not have entered precipitately into engagements, the burden of which it already feels.

Both the banks of Hudson's river are laid out in the plantations of the colony, which enliven and decorate these borders. It is upon this magnificent canal, which is navigable day and night, in all seasons, and where the tide runs up above a hundred and sixty miles in the land, that every thing which is intended for the general market is embarked in vessels of forty or fifty tons burden. The staple itself, which is near the sea, is extremely well situated for receiving all the merchandise of the province, and all that comes from LONG ISLAND, which is only separated from the continent by a narrow channel.

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This island, which takes its name from its figure, is one hundred and twenty miles in length by twelve in breadth. It was formerly very famous for the great number of whales and sea-calves taken in its neighbourhood; but whether it is that the frequent fisheries have driven away these animals, which generally seek quiet seas and desert shores, they have disappeared, and another branch of industry has been found to supply their loss. As the pastures are most excellent, the breeding of all kinds of cattle, and particularly horses, has been much attended to, without neglecting any other branch of cultivation. All these different riches flow to the principal market, which is also increased by productions brought from a greater distance. Some parts of New England and New Jersey find their account in pouring their stores into this magazine.

This mart is a very considerable town, which at present has the same name as the colony, and is called NEW YORK. It was formerly built by the Dutch, who gave it the name of New Amsterdam, in an island called Manahatton, which is fourteen leagues long and not very broad. In 1756, its population amounted to 10,468 whites, and 2,275 negroes. There is not any town where the air is better, or where there is a more general appearance of ease and plenty. Both the public edifices and private houses convey the idea of solidity united to convenience. If the city, however, were attacked with vigour, it would hardly hold out twenty-four hours, having no other defence of the road or the town except a bad fort and a stone retrenchment.

New York, which stands at the distance of about two miles from the mouth of Hudson's river, has, properly speaking, neither port or basin; but it does not want either, because its road is sufficient. It is from thence that 250 or 300 ships are dispatched every year for the different ports of Europe and America. England receives but a small part of them, but they are the richest, because they are those whose
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cargo consists in furs and beaver skins. The manner in which the colony gets possession of these peltries is now to be explained.

As soon as the Dutch had built New Amsterdam in a situation which they thought favourable for the intercourse with Europe, they next endeavoured to establish an advantageous trade there. The only thing at that time in request from North America was furs; but as the neighbouring savages offered but few, and those indifferent ones, there was a necessity of pushing to the north to have them better and in larger quantities. In consequence of this, a project was formed for an establishment on the banks of Hudson's river, 150 miles distance from the capital. The circumstances fortunately proved favourable for obtaining the consent of the Iroquois, to whom the territory required belonged. This brave nation happened to be then at war with the French, who were just arrived in Canada.

Upon an agreement to supply them with the same arms that their enemies used, they allowed the Dutch to build Fort Orange, which was afterwards called Fort Albany. There was never the least dispute between the two nations; on the contrary, the Dutch, with the assistance of their powder, lead, and guns, which they used to give in exchange for skins, secured to themselves not only what they could get by their own hunting in all the five countries, but even the spoils collected by the Iroquois warriors in their expeditions.

Though the English, upon their taking possession of the colony, maintained the union with the savages, they did not think seriously of extending the fur-trade, till the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685 introduced among them the art of making beaver hats. Their efforts were for a long time ineffectual, and there were chiefly two obstacles to their success. The French were accustomed to draw from Albany itself coverlets, thick worked stuffs, different iron and copper manufactures, even arms and ammu-

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nitition; all which they could sell to the savages with so much the more advantage as these goods bought at Albany cost them one third less than they would have done any other way. Besides, the American nations, who were separated from New York by the country of the Iroquois, in which nobody chose to venture far, could hardly treat with any but the French.

Burnet, who was governor of the British colony in 1720, was either the first who saw the evil, or the first who ventured to strike at the root of it. He made the general assembly forbid all communication between Albany and Canada, and then obtained the consent of the Iroquois to build and fortify the factory of Oswego at his own expence, on that part of the lake Ontario by which most of the savages must pass in their way to Montreal. In consequence of these two operations, the beavers and the other peltries were pretty equally divided between the French and British. The accession of Canada cannot but increase at present the share New York had in the trade, as the latter is better situated for it than the country which disputed it with her.

If the British colony has gained by the acquisition of Canada, it does not appear to have lost any thing by being separated from New Jersey, which formerly made a part of New Belgia, under the title of New Sweden.

§. *In what manner New Jersey fell into the hands of the English. Its present state.*

THE Swedes were, in fact, the first Europeans who settled in this region about the year 1639. The neglect in which they were left by their own country, which was too weak to be able to extend its protection to them at so great a distance, obliged them, at the end of sixteen years, to give themselves up to the Dutch, who united this acquisition to New Belgia.

gia. When the duke of York received the grant of the two countries, he separated them; and divided the least of them, called New Jersey, between two of his favourites.

Carteret and Berkley, the first of whom had received the eastern, and the other the western part of the province, had solicited this vast territory with no other view but to put it up to sale. Several adventurers accordingly bought large districts of them at a low price, which they divided and sold again in smaller parcels. In the midst of these subdivisions, the colony became divided into two distinct provinces, each separately governed by the original proprietors. The exercise of this right growing at length inconvenient, as indeed it was ill adapted to the situation of a subject, they gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one, and were directed, like the greater part of the other British colonies, by a governor, a council, and a general assembly.

New Jersey, situated between 39 and 40 degrees north latitude, is bounded to the east by New York, to the west by Pennsylvania, to the north by unknown land, and to the south by the ocean, which washes its coasts thro' an extent of 120 miles. This large country before the last revolution contained only sixteen thousand inhabitants, the descendants of Swedes and Dutch, who were its first cultivators, to whom had been added some Quakers, and some Church-of-England men, with a greater number of Presbyterians. The defect of the government stopped the progress and occasioned the indigence of this small colony. It might, therefore, have been expected that the æra of liberty should have been that of its prosperity; but almost all the Europeans who went to the new world in search either of an asylum or riches, preferring the milder and more fruitful climates of Carolina and Pennsylvania; New Jersey could never recover from its primitive languor. Even at this day, it does not reckon above fifty thousand

whites, united in villages, or dispersed among the plantations, with twenty thousand blacks.

The poverty of this province not suffering it in the beginning to open a direct trade with the distant or foreign markets, it began to sell its productions at Philadelphia, and especially at New York, with which there was an easy communication by rivers. It has continued this practice ever since, and receives in exchange from the two cities some of the productions of the mother country. Far, however, from being able to acquire any objects of luxury, it cannot even afford to purchase all the articles of immediate necessity; but is obliged itself to manufacture the greatest part of its cloathing.

There is of course very little specie in the colony, which is reduced to the use of paper-currency. All its bills together do not amount to more than 59,062 $\frac{1}{2}$ 10s. As they are current both in Pennsylvania and New York, which do not take any of each others bills; they bear an advanced premium above the bills of these two colonies, by being made use of in all the payments between them.

But so trifling an advantage will never give any real importance to New Jersey. It is from out of its own bosom, that is, from the culture of its immense tract of desert country, that it is to draw its vigour and prosperity. As long as it stands in need of intermediate agents, it will never recover from the state of languor into which it is plunged. This the colony is thoroughly sensible of; and all its efforts are now directed to this end, in order to enable it to act for itself. It has even already made some with success. As far back as the year 1751, it found means to fit out, at its own expence, thirty-eight vessels, bound to Europe or to the southern isles of America. These vessels carried 188,000 quintals of biscuits, six thousand four hundred and twenty-four barrels of flour, seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty-one bushels of corn, three hundred and fourteen barrels of salt beef and pork, fourteen hundred quintals of hemp;

hemp; together with a pretty large quantity of hams, butter, beer, linseed, iron in bars, and wood for building. It is imagined that this direct trade may have increased one third since that time.

This beginning of riches must raise the emulation; the industry, the hopes, the projects, and the enterprises of a colony, which hitherto had not been able to sustain the part in trade which its situation seemed to promise it. If, however, there are some poor and feeble states that draw their subsistence and support from the vicinity of others more rich and more brilliant than themselves, there are a far greater number whom such a neighbourhood entirely crushes and destroys. Such, perhaps, has been the fate of New Jersey, as will appear from the history we are going to give of Pennsylvania; which, lying too close to this colony, has sometimes stifled it with its shadow, sometimes eclipsed it with its splendor.

B O O K II.

BRITISH COLONIES FOUNDED IN
PENNSYLVANIA, VIRGINIA,
MARYLAND, CAROLINA, GEORGIA,
AND FLORIDA.

CHAP. I.

Of PENNSYLVANIA.

1. *The Quakers found Pennsylvania. Manners of that sect.*

LUTHERANISM, which was destined to cause a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence, or by the example it gave, had occasioned a great fermentation in the minds of all men; when there arose from the midst of it a new religion, which at first appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticism, than like a sect that was governed by any fixed principles. In fact, the generality of innovators follow a regular system, composed of doctrines connected with each other; and, in the beginning at least, take arms only to defend themselves. The Anabaptists, on the contrary, as if they had looked into the Bible only for the word of command to attack, lifted up the standard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a system of doctrine. It is true, indeed, that their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and useless practice to administer baptism to infants; and asserted that their opinion upon this point was the same as that of the primitive church: but they had not yet ever practised themselves this only article of faith, which furnished a pretence for separation. The spirit of sedition precluded them from paying a proper attention to the schismatic.

matic tenets on which their division was founded. To shake off the tyrannical yoke of church and state, was their law and their faith. To enlist in the armies of the Lord; to join with the faithful, who were to wield the sword of Gideon; this was their device, their motive, and their signal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and sword into a great part of Germany, that the Anabaptists thought at last of marking and cementing their confederacy by some visible sign of union. Having been inspired at first to raise a body of troops, in 1525 they were inspired to compose a religious code, and the following were the tenets they adopted.

In the mixed system of intolerance and mildness by which they are guided, the Anabaptist church, being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

The Spirit of the Lord blowing wheresoever it listeth, the power of preaching is not limited to one order of the faithful, but is given to all. Every one likewise has the gift of prophecy.

Every sect which has not preserved the community of all things, which constituted the life and spirit of Christianity, has degenerated, and is for that reason an impure society.

Magistrates are useless in a society of the truly faithful. A Christian never has occasion for any; nor is a Christian allowed to be one himself.

Christians are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much less is it lawful for them to enlist as soldiers in mercenary armies.

Both law-suits and oaths are forbidden the disciples of Christ; who has commanded them to let their yea be yea, and their nay nay.

The baptism of infants is an invention of the devil and of the pope. The validity of baptism depends upon the voluntary consent of the adults, who alone are able to receive it with a consciousness of the engagement they take upon themselves.

Such

Such was, in its origin, the religious system of the Anabaptists. Tho' it appears founded on charity and mildness, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of stations is the most dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized society. To preach this system to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights, it is leading them on to assassination and plunder. It is letting domestic animals loose, and transforming them into wild beasts. The masters who govern the people must be better informed, or the laws by which they are conducted must be softened: but there is in fact no such thing in nature as a real equality; it exists only in the the system of equity. Even the savages themselves are not equal, when once they are collected into hords. They are only so, while they wander in the woods; and then the man who suffers the produce of his chase to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all societies.

A doctrine, the basis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partizans any where but among the poor. The peasants, accordingly, all adopted it with the more violence in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more insupportable. The far greater part, especially those who were condemned to slavery, rose up in arms on all sides, to support a doctrine, which, from being vassals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehension of seeing one of the first bands of society, obedience to the magistrate, broken, united all other sects against them, who could not subsist without subordination. After having carried on a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their sect, notwithstanding it had made its way all over Germany, and into a part of the north, was no where prevalent, because it had been every where opposed and dispersed. It was but just tolerated in those countries in which the greatest latitude

itude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any state in which it was able to settle a church, authorised by the civil power. This of course weakened it, and from obscurity it fell into contempt. Its only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the sect of the Quakers.

This humane and pacific sect had arisen in England amidst the confusions of a war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the scaffold by his own subjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower class of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a singular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his profession. In order to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amusement but his bible. In time he even learnt to go without that, when he thought he had acquired from it a degree of inspiration similar to that of the apostles and the prophets.

Then he began to think of making proselytes, which he found not in the least difficult in a country where the minds of all men were filled and disturbed with enthusiastic notions. He was, therefore, soon followed by a multitude of disciples, the novelty and singularity of whose notions upon incomprehensible subjects could not fail of attracting and fascinating all those who were fond of the marvellous.

The first thing by which they caught the eye was the simplicity of their dress; in which there was neither gold nor silver lace, nor embroidery, nor laces, nor ruffles, and from which they affected to banish every thing that was superfluous or unnecessary. They would not suffer either a button in the hat, or a plait in the coat, because it was possible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for established modes reminded those who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than

than the rest of men from whom they distinguished themselves by this external modesty.

All the external deferences which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from those who are unable to refuse them, were disdained by the quakers, who disclaimed the names of Master and Servant. They condemned all titles as pride in those who claimed them, and as meanness in those who bestowed them. They did not allow to any person whatever the appellation of Eminence or Excellence, and so far they might be in the right; but they refused to comply with those reciprocal marks of attention which we call politeness, and in this they were to blame. The name of Friend, they said, was not to be refused by one Christian or citizen to another; but the ceremony of bowing they considered as ridiculous and troublesome. To pull off one's hat they held to be a want of respect to one's self, in order to shew it to others. They carried it so far, that even the magistrates could not draw from them any external token of reverence, but they addressed both them and princes, according to the ancient majesty of language, in the second person and in the singular number.

The austerity of their morals ennobled the singularity of their manners. The use of arms, considered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it was to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity; if to defend one's self, it was breaking through those of Christianity. Universal peace was the gospel they had agreed to profess. If any one smote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately presented the other; if any one asked for his coat, he offered his waistcoat too. Nothing could engage these equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take less than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magistrate and in a just cause, they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched disputes that arise between weak and perishable beings.

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The contempt they had for the outward forms of politeness in civil life, was changed into aversion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the parade of religion; they considered the sabbath as a pernicious idleness, and baptism and the Lord's supper as ridiculous symbols. For this reason they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghost, which gave a character far superior to that of the priesthood. When they were assembled together, the first person who found himself inspired arose and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of speech, which they called the gift of prophecy: sometimes many of these holy brethren spoke at the same time; but much more frequently a profound silence prevailed in their assemblies.

The enthusiasm occasioned both by their meditations and discourses, excited such a degree of sensibility in the nervous system, that it threw them into convulsions, for which reason they were called Quakers. To have cured these people in process of time of their folly, nothing more was requisite than to turn it into ridicule; but, instead of this, persecution contributed to make it more general. Whilst every other new sect met with encouragement, this was exposed to every kind of punishment; imprisonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houses, nothing was thought too terrible for bigots, whose only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reasonable over much. The constancy with which they bore their sufferings, at first excited compassion and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwell, who had been one of their most violent enemies, because they used to insinuate themselves into his camps, and discourage his soldiers from their profession, gave them public marks of his esteem. His policy exerted itself in endeavouring to draw them into his party,

in order to conciliate to himself a higher degree of respect and consideration : but they either eluded his invitations, or rejected them ; and he afterwards confessed, that this was the only religion in which his guineas had taken no effect.

Amongst the several persons who cast a temporary lustre on the sect, the only one who deserves to be remembered by posterity is William Penn. He was the son of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally distinguished by Cromwell and the two Stuarts who held the reigns of government after him. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men commonly are in his profession, had made considerable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not suffered them to be repaid during his life ; and as affairs were not in a better situation at his death, it was proposed to his son, that, instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in America. It was a country which, though long since discovered, and surrounded by English colonies, had always been neglected. The love of humanity made him accept with pleasure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almost as a sovereignty ; and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the asylum of the unfortunate. With this generous design, towards the end of the year 1681, he set sail for his new possessions, which from that time took the name of Pennsylvania. All the quakers were desirous to follow him, in order to avoid the persecution raised against them by the clergy on account of their not complying with the tithes and other ecclesiastical fees ; but his prudence engaged him to take over no more than two thousand.

2. *Upon what principles Pennsylvania was founded.*

PENN's arrival in the new world was signalized by an act of equity which made his person and principles

ciples equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to this extensive territory by the cession of the English ministry, he determined to make it his own property by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known; but though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not the less entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, never so much as thought of before by the Europeans. He made his acquisition as valid as he could, and by the use he made of it he supplied any deficiency there might be in the legality of his title. The Americans conceived as great an affection for this colony as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the savages only; it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two first principles of public splendor and private felicity; liberty, and property. Here it is that the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America, inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these barbarians spreading depopulation before they took possession, and laying every thing waste before they cultivated. It is time to observe the seeds of reason, happiness, and humanity, sown and springing up amidst the ruin of an hemisphere, which still reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as savage.

This virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every one who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every Christian eligible to state employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper; and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any persons to attend them.

Jealous of immortalizing his name, he vested in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony: but he ordained that no profits should be annexed to his employment, except such as were voluntarily granted; and that he should have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens, who had an interest in the law, by having one in the circumstance the law was intended to regulate, were to be electors and might be chosen. To avoid as much as possible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the representatives should be chosen by suffrages privately given. To establish a law, a plurality of voices was sufficient; but a majority of two thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a subsidy demanded by government; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in search of peace?

Such was the opinion of that real philosopher Penn. He gave a thousand acres to all those who could afford to pay twenty pounds for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himself, his wife, each of his children above sixteen years, and each of his servants, fifty acres of land, for the annual quit rent of about one penny per acre.

To fix these properties for ever, he established tribunals to protect the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make those who are in possession of them purchase the law that secures them: for, in that case,
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one is obliged to give away part of one's property in order to secure the rest; and law, in process of time, exhausts the very treasures it should preserve, and the very property it should defend. Lest any person should be found whose interest it might be to encourage or prolong law-suits, he forbade, under very strict penalties, all those who were engaged in the administration of justice, to receive any salary or gratification whatsoever. And further, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and make up, any disputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of justice.

This attention to prevent law-suits sprang from the desire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to punish, were directed to put a stop to them even in their very sources, poverty and idleness. It was enacted, that every child above twelve years old should be obliged to learn a profession, let his condition be what it would. This regulation, at the same time that it secured the poor man a subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune; and preserved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination, which is that of labour either of the mind or of the body.

Such primary institutions would be necessarily productive of an excellent legislation; and accordingly the advantages of that established by Penn manifested itself in the rapid and continued prosperity of Pennsylvania, which, without either wars, or conquests, or struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon became an object fit to excite the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners; and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous.

3. *Extent, climate, and soil, of Pennsylvania. Its prosperity.*

PENNSYLVANIA is defended to the east by the ocean, to the north by New York and New Jersey, to the south by Virginia and Maryland, to the west by the Indians; on all sides by friends, and within itself by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coasts, which are at first very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles; and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. The sky of the colony is pure and serene; the climate, very wholesome of itself, has been rendered still more so by cultivation; the waters, equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand; the year is tempered by the regular return of the seasons. Winter which begins in the month of January, lasts till the end of March. As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in one night. This revolution, which is as short as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains, and by a gentle heat which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog days would be insupportable, were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west wind; but this succour, though pretty constant, sometimes exposes them to hurricanes that blow down whole forests and tear up trees by the roots, especially in the neighbourhood of the sea, where they are most violent. The three autumnal months are commonly attended with no other inconvenience but that of being too rainy.

Though the country is unequal, it is not less fertile. The soil in some places consists of a yellow black sand, in others it is gravelly, and sometimes it is a greyish ash upon a stony bottom; generally speaking,

speaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which, intersecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

When the Europeans first came into the country, they found nothing in it but wood for building, and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, with a great variety of fruits, with plantations of flax and hemp, with many kinds of vegetables, with every sort of grain, and especially with rye and maize; which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with such vigour and success as excited the astonishment of all nations.

From whence could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty which has attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptists, Church-of-England men, Methodists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, and Catholics.

Among the numerous sects which abound in this country, a very distinguished one is that of the Dimplers. It was founded by a German, who disgusted with the world, retired to an agreeable solitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himself up to contemplation. Curiosity brought several of his countrymen to visit his retreat; and by degrees his pious, simple, and peaceable manners induced them to settle near him, and they all formed a little colony, which they called Euphrates, in allusion to the Hebrews, who used to sing psalms on the borders of that river.

This little city forms a triangle, the outsides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard; and between the orchard and these ranges of trees are houses, built of wood,

three stories high, where every Dumpler is left to enjoy the pleasures of his meditations without disturbance. These contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of stagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

The men and women live in separate quarters of the city. They never see each other but at places of worship, nor are there any assemblies of any kind but for public business. Their life is taken up in labour, prayer, and sleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells, to attend divine service. Like the Methodists and Quakers, every individual among them possesses the right of preaching when he thinks himself inspired. The favourite subjects on which they love to discourse in their assemblies, are humility, temperance, chastity, and the other Christian virtues. They never violate the rest of the Sabbath, which is so much the delight of laborious as well as idle men. They admit a hell and a paradise; but reject the eternity of future punishments. The doctrine of original sin is with them an impious blasphemy which they abhor, and in general every tenet cruel to man appears to them injurious to the Divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they administer baptism only to the adult. At the same time they think baptism so essentially necessary to salvation, that they imagine the souls of Christians in another world are employed in converting those who have not died under the law of the gospel.

Still more disinterested than the Quakers, they never allow themselves any law-suits. One may cheat, rob, and abuse them, without ever being exposed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the same effect on them that philosophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them insensible to every kind of insult.

Nothing can be plainer than their dress. In winter,

ter, it consists of a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood to serve instead of a hat, a coarse shirt, thick shoes, and very wide breeches. There is no great difference in summer, only that linen is used instead of woollen. The women are dressed much like the men except the breeches.

Their common food is only vegetable, not because it is unlawful to make use of any other, but because that kind of abstinence is looked upon as more conformable to the spirit of Christianity, which has an aversion for blood. Each individual follows with cheerfulness the branch of business allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is deposited into a common stock, in order to supply the necessities of every one. Besides the cultivation, manufactures, and all the arts necessary to the little society, which are thus produced by united industry, it affords a superfluous part for exchanges proportioned to the population.

Though the two sexes live separate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account foolishly renounce matrimony. But those who find themselves disposed to it, leave the city, and form an establishment in the country, which is supported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treasury, and their children are sent to be educated in the mother country. Without this wise privilege, the Dumplers would be nothing more than monks, and in process of time would become either savages or libertines.

What is most edifying, and at the same time most extraordinary, is, the harmony that subsists between all the sects established in Pennsylvania; notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions. Tho' they are not all of the same church, they all love and cherish one another as children of the same father. They have always continued to live like brothers, because they had the liberty of thinking as men. It is to this delightful harmony that must be attributed more particularly the rapid progress of the colony.

At

At the beginning of the year 1766 its population amounted to 150,000 white people. The number must have been considerably increased from that period, since it is doubled every fifteen years, according to Mr Franklin's calculations. There were still thirty thousand blacks in the province, who met with less ill-usage in this province than in the others, but who were still exceedingly unhappy. A circumstance, however, not easily believed, is, that the subjection of the negroes has not corrupted the morals of their masters; their manners are still pure, and even austere, in Pennsylvania. Is this singular advantage to be ascribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation constantly subsisting between the different sects, or to some other particular cause? Let the reader determine this question.

The Pennsylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they sooner become mothers than in Europe, they sooner cease breeding. If the heat of the climate seems on the one hand to hasten the operations of nature, its inconstancy weakens them on the other. There is no place where the temperature of the sky is more uncertain, for it sometimes changes five or six times in the same day.

As, however, these varieties neither have any dangerous influence upon the vegetables, nor destroy the harvests, there is a constant plenty, and an universal appearance of ease. The œconomy which is so particularly attended to in Pennsylvania does not prevent both sexes from being well clothed; and their food is still preferable in its kind to their clothing. The families, whose circumstances are the least easy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum. A very great number are able to afford to drink constantly French and Spanish wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuse of these strong drinks is less frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

The pleasing view of this abundance is never disturbed

urbed by the melancholy sight of poverty. There are no poor in all Pennsylvania. All those whose birth or fortune have left them without resources, are suitably provided for out of the public treasury. The spirit of benevolence is carried still farther, and is extended even to the most engaging hospitality. A traveller is welcome to stop in any place, without the apprehensions of giving the least uneasy sensation, except that of regret for his departure.

The happiness of the colony is not disturbed by the oppressive burden of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 12,256*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* Most of them, even those that were designed to repair the damages of war, were to cease in 1772. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the eruptions of the savages, which had occasioned extraordinary expences.

The Pennsylvanians, happy possessors and peaceable tenants of a country that usually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not restrained by fear from the propagation of their species. There is hardly an unmarried person to be met with in the country. Marriage is only the more happy and the more revered for it. The freedom as well as the sanctity of it depends upon the choice of the parties: they chuse the lawyer and priest rather as witnesses, than ministers, of the engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any opposition, they go off on horseback together. The man gets behind his mistress; and in this situation they present themselves before the magistrate, where the girl declares she has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So solemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any person a right to give them any molestation. In all other cases, paternal authority is excessive. The head of a family, whose affairs are involved, is allowed to engage his children to his creditors; a punishment, one should imagine, very sufficient to induce a fond father to attend to his affairs. A man grown up acquits in one year's service a debt
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of 5*l.* and children under twelve years of age are obliged to serve till they are one and twenty, to pay one of 6*l.* This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the East.

Tho' there are several villages, and even some cities, in the colony, most of the inhabitants may be said to live separately, as it were within their families. Every proprietor of land has his house in the midst of a large plantation entirely surrounded with quickset hedges. Of course each parish is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This distance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and still less influence. Children are not baptized till a few months, and sometimes not till a year or two, after their birth.

All the pomp of religion seems reserved for the last honours man receives before he is shut up in the grave for ever. As soon as any one is dead in the country, the nearest neighbours have notice given them of the day of burial. These spread it in the habitations next to theirs, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a distance. Every family sends at least one person to attend the funeral. As they come in, they are presented with punch and cake. When the assembly is complete, the corpse is carried to the burying ground belonging to his sect; or, if that should be at too great a distance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred persons on horseback, who observe a continual silence, and have all the external appearance suited to the melancholy nature of the ceremony. One singular circumstance is, that the Pennsylvanians, who are the greatest enemies to parade during their lives, seem to forget this character of modesty at their deaths. They all are desirous that the poor remains of their short lives should be attended with a funeral pomp suited to their rank or fortune.

It is a general observation, that plain and virtuous nations, even savage and poor ones, are remarkably attached to the care of their burials. The reason of it

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is, that they look upon these last honours as duties of the survivors, and the duties themselves as so many distinct proofs of that principle of love which is very strong in private families whilst they are in a state nearest to that of nature. It is not the dying man himself who exacts these honours; it is his parents, his wife, his children, who voluntarily pay them to the ashes of a husband and father that has deserved to be lamented. These ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in small societies than in larger ones; because, though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much stronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reason why so many small nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the Persians out of Greece, and it will some time or other expel the French out of Corsica.

But from whence does Pennsylvania draw the materials for her own consumption, and in what manner does she contrive to be abundantly furnished with them? With the flax and hemp that are produced at home, and the cotton she procures from South America, she fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe she manufactures many coarse cloths. Whatever her own industry is not able to furnish, she purchases with the produce of her territory. Her ships carry over to the British, French, Dutch, and Danish islands, biscuit, flour, butter, cheese, tallow, vegetables, fruits, salt meat, cyder, beer, and all sorts of wood for building. The cotton, sugar, coffee, brandy and money, they receive in exchange; are so many materials for a fresh commerce with the mother country, and with other European nations as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain, and Portugal, open an advantageous market to the corn and wood of Pennsylvania, which they purchase with wine and piastres. The mother country receives from Pennsylvania iron, flax, leather,

leather, furs, linseed oil, masts and yards; for which it returns thread, wool, fine cloths, tea, Irish and India linens, hard-ware, and other articles of luxury or necessity. As these, however, amount to a much greater sum than what it buys, Britain may be considered as a gulph in which all the metals Pennsylvania has drawn from the other parts of the world are sunk again. In 1723, Britain sent over goods to Pennsylvania only to the value of 10,937*l.* 10*s.* at present she furnishes to the amount of 437,500*l.* This sum is too considerable for the colonists to be able to pay it, even in depriving themselves of all the gold they draw from other markets; and this inability must continue as long as the improvement of their cultures shall require more considerable advances than their produce yields. Other colonies which enjoy almost exclusively some branches of trade, such as rice, tobacco, and indigo, must have grown rich very rapidly. Pennsylvania, whose riches are founded on agriculture and the increase of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her prosperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent basis.

If any circumstance can retard the progress of the colony, it must be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiscriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid 6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* for each hundred acres, and that the purchasers agree to give an annual rent of about one halfpenny. The consequence of this is, that the province wants that sort of connection which is necessary in all things, and that the scattered inhabitants easily become the prey of the most insignificant enemy that will venture to attack them.

The habitations are cleared in different ways in the colony. Sometimes a huntsman will settle in the midst of a forest, or quite close to it. His nearest neighbours assist him in cutting down trees, and heaping them up one over another: and this constitutes

a house. Around this spot he cultivates, without any assistance, a garden or a field, sufficient to subsist himself and his family.

A few years after the first labours were finished, some more active and richer men arrived from the mother country. They paid the huntsman for his pains, and agreed with the proprietors of the provinces for some lands that had not been paid for. They built more commodious habitations, and cleared a greater extent of territory.

At length some Germans, who came into the new world from inclination, or were driven into it by persecution, completed these settlements that were as yet unfinished. The first and second order of planters removed their industry into other parts, with a more considerable stock for carrying on their cultures than they had at first.

The annual exports of Pennsylvania may be valued at 25,000 tons. It receives four hundred ships, and fits out about an equal number. They all, or almost all, come into PHILADELPHIA, which is the capital, from whence they are also dispatched.

This famous city, whose very name recalls every humane feeling, is situated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, about 120 miles from the sea. Penn, who destined it for the metropolis of a great empire, designed it to be one mile in breadth, and two in length between the rivers; but its population has proved insufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto they have built only upon the banks of the Delaware; but without giving up the ideas of the legislator, or deviating from his plan. These precautions are highly proper: Philadelphia must become the most considerable city of America, because it is impossible that the colony should not improve greatly, and its productions must pass through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the sea. The streets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are in general fifty feet broad; the two principal ones are a hundred. On each side of

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them, there are foot-paths, guarded by posts placed at different distances. The houses, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly two stories high; and are built either of brick, or of a kind of soft stone, which grows hard by being exposed to the air. Till very lately the walls had but little thickness, because they were only to be covered with a very light kind of wood. Since the discovery of slate quarries, the walls have acquired a solidity proportioned to the weight of the new roofs. The present buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this they make tables, chimney-pieces, and other household furniture: besides which it is become a pretty considerable object of commerce with the greatest part of America.

These valuable materials could not have been commonly found in the houses, if they had not been lavished in the churches. Every sect has its own church, and some of them have several.

The town-house is a building held in as much veneration, though not so much frequented, as the churches. It is constructed in the most sumptuous magnificence. It is there that the legislators of the colony assemble every year, and more frequently, if necessary, to settle every thing relative to public business; the whole of which is submitted to the authority of the nation in the persons of its representatives. Next to the town-house is a most elegant library, which owes its existence to the care of the learned Doctor Franklin. In it are found the best English, French, and Latin authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. Those who have founded it have a free access to it the whole year. The rest pay a trifle for the loan of the books, and a forfeit if they are not returned in due time. This little fund constantly accumulating, is appropriated to the increase of the library; to which have been lately added, in order to make it more useful, some mathematical and philosophical instruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural history.

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SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA.

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The college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of all the sciences, was founded in 1749. At first, it only initiated the youth in the Belles Lettres. In 1764 a class of medicine was established there. Knowledge of every kind and adepts in the sciences will increase in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony, shall yield a greater produce. If ever despotism, superstition, or war, should plunge Europe again into that state of barbarism from whence philosophy and the arts have drawn it, the sacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten the world. This city is amply supplied with every assistance human nature can require, and with all the resources industry can make use of. Its keys, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, present a suite of convenient warehouses and recesses ingeniously contrived for ship-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in the times of frost. There they load the merchandize which has either come down the Schuylkill and Delaware, or along roads better than are to be met with in most parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progress in this part of the new world, than among the most ancient nations of the old. It is impossible to determine precisely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactness, and there are several sects who do not christen their children. It appears a fact, however, that in 1766 it contained twenty thousand inhabitants. As most of them are employed in the sale of the productions of the colony, and in supplying it with what they draw from abroad, it is impossible that their fortunes should not be very considerable; and they must increase still further, in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where hitherto not above one sixth of the land has been cleared.

Philadelphia, as well as Newcastle and the other cities of Pensylvania, is entirely open. The whole

country is equally without defence. This is a necessary consequence of the principles of the Quakers, who have always maintained the principal influence in the public deliberations, though they do not form above one third part of the population of the colony. These sectaries cannot be too much favoured on account of their modesty, probity, love of labour, and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuse their legislation of imprudence and temerity.

When they established that civil liberty which protects one citizen from another, ought not the founders of the colony to have taken some pains for the maintainance of political liberty also, which protects one state from the encroachments of another? The authority which exerts itself to maintain peace and good order at home, seems to have done nothing if it has not prevented invasion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have any enemies, was to suppose the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the strong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and giving up all the country to the oppressive yoke of the first tyrant who should think proper to subdue it.

But, on the other hand, how shall we reconcile the strictness of the gospel maxims, by which the Quakers are literally governed, with that appearance of force, either for offence or defence, which puts all Christian nations in a continual state of war with each other? Besides, what could the French or the Spaniards do if they were to enter Pennsylvania sword in hand? Unless they should destroy in one night, or in one day, all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able to cut off the race of those mild and charitable men. Violence has its boundaries in its very excess; it consumes and extinguishes itself, as the fire in the ashes that feed it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and brotherly love, reanimates itself as the tree under the edge of the pruning knife. Wicked men stand in need of numbers

bers to execute their sanguinary projects. But the just man, or the Quaker, requires only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give, assistance. Let, then, the warlike nations, people who are either slaves or tyrants, go into Pennsylvania: there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their disposal; not a single soldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if they are tormented, restrained, or oppressed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures destroyed, and their ware-houses empty. They will go and cultivate, and spread population in some new land; they will go round the world, and expire in their progress rather than turn their arms against their pursuers, or submit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have acquired nothing but the hatred of mankind and the curses of posterity.

It is upon this prospect and on this foresight, that the Pennsylvanians have founded the opinion of their future security. At present they have nothing to fear from behind, since the French have lost Canada; and the flanks of the colony are sufficiently covered by the British settlements. As for the rest, as they do not see that the most warlike states are the most durable; or that mistrust, which is always awake, makes them rest in greater quiet; or that there is any kind of satisfaction in the enjoyment of that which is held with so much fear; they live for the present moment, without any thought of a future day. Perhaps, too, they may think themselves secured by those very precautions that are taken in the colonies that surround them. One of the barriers or bulwarks that preserves Pennsylvania from a maritime invasion to which it is exposed, is Virginia.

C H A P. II.

OF VIRGINIA and MARYLAND.

I. Wretched state of Virginia at its first settlement.

VIRGINIA, which was intended to denote all that extensive space which the English proposed to occupy in the continent of North America, is at present confined within much narrower limits. It now comprehends only that country which is bounded to the north by Maryland, to the south by Carolina, to the west by the Apalachian mountains, and to the east by the ocean. This space contains two hundred and forty miles in length, and two hundred in breadth.

It was in 1606 that the English first landed at Virginia; and there first settlement was James-Town. Unfortunately the first object that presented itself to them was a rivulet, which, issuing from a sand-bank, drew after it a quantity of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a clear and running water. In an age when gold and silver mines were the only objects of mens researches, this despicable substance was immediately taken for silver. Every other labour was instantly suspended to acquire it. And the illusion was so complete, that two ships, which had arrived there with necessaries, were sent home so fully freighted with these imaginary riches, that there scarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as the insatuation lasted, the colonists disdained to employ themselves in clearing the lands; so that a dreadful famine was at last the consequence of this foolish pride. Sixty men only remained alive out of five hundred that had come from Europe. These few, having only a fortnight's provision left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when lord Delaware arrived there with three ships, a fresh colony, and supplies of all kinds.

History

History has described this nobleman to us as a man whose genius raised him above the common prejudices of the times. His disinterestedness was equal to his knowledge. In accepting the government of the colony, which was still in its infancy, his only motives had been to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to secure the esteem of posterity, which is the second reward of that generosity that devotes itself totally to the service of the public. As soon as he appeared, the knowledge of his character procured him universal respect. He began by endeavouring to reconcile the wretched colonists to their fatal country, to comfort them in their sufferings, to make them hope for a speedy conclusion of them. After this, joining the firmness of an enlightned magistrate to the tenderness of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an useful end. For the misfortune of the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health soon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never lost sight of his favourite colonists, nor ever failed to make use of all his credit and interest at court to support them. The colony, however, made but little progress; a circumstance that was attributed to the oppression of exclusive privileges. The company which exercised them was dissolved upon Charles I.'s accession to the throne; and from that time Virginia was under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of 2 s. upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

Till this moment the colonists had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himself in the place he liked best, without consulting any titles or agreements. At length, boundaries were ascertained; and those who had been so long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The establishment of this first law of society changed the appearance of every thing. New buildings arose on all sides, and were surrounded by fresh cultivations. This activity drew great numbers of enterprising men over to Virginia, who came in search either of fortune,
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or of liberty, which is the only compensation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the constitution of England added to these a multitude of Royalists, who went there with a resolution to wait with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was also attached to king Charles, the decision of that deserted monarch's fate. Berkley still continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but some of the inhabitants, either seduced or intimidated, and seconded by the approach of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the stream against his will, he was at least, among those whom Charles had honoured with posts of confidence and rank, the last who submitted to Cromwell, and the first who shook off his yoke. This brave man was sinking under the oppression of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his successor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to these flattering solicitations, he declared that he never would serve any but the legitimate heirs of the dethroned monarch. Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the restoration of the royal family, made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that Charles II. was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

The colony did not, however, receive all the benefit from such a step which might naturally have been expected from it. Whilst the court, on one hand, granted to rapacious men of family exorbitant privileges, which swallowed up the properties of several obscure colonists; the parliament, on the other, laid excessive taxes upon both the exports from and imports to Virginia. This double oppression drained all the resources and dispelled all the hopes of the colony; and, to complete its misfortune, the savages, who had never been sufficiently caressed, took that opportunity to renew their incursions with a spirit and uniformity of design that had never been yet known.

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Such a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to despair. Berkley, who had so long been their idol, was accused of wanting fortitude to resist the oppressions of the mother country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the savages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence, and intrepidity, of an insinuating disposition and an agreeable person. They chose him for their general in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military successes might have justified this prepossession of the licentious multitude, yet this did not prevent the governor from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A sentence so severe, and which was imprudent at the time, determined Bacon to assume a power by force which he had exercised peaceably and without opposition for six months. His death put a stop to all his projects. The malecontents, disunited by the death of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to sue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad consequences. Mercy insured obedience; and since that remarkable crisis, the history of Virginia has been confined to the account of its plantations.

2. *Administration of Virginia.*

THIS great establishment was governed at the beginning by persons placed at the head of it by the company. Virginia afterwards attracted the attention of the mother country; which in 1620 gave it a regular form of government, composed of a chief, a council, and deputies from each county; to whose united care the interests of the province were committed. At first, the council and representatives of the people used to meet in the same room: but in 1689 they divided, and had each their separate chamber,

in imitation of the parliament of England. This custom has been continued ever since.

The governor, who is always appointed by the king, and for an unlimited period, has the sole disposal of the regular troops, the militia, and of all military employments, as well as the power of approving or rejecting whatever laws are proposed by the general assembly. Besides this, with the concurrence of the council, to which he leaves very little power in other matters, he may either prorogue or entirely dissolve this kind of parliament: he chuses all magistrates, and all the collectors of the revenue; he alienates the unoccupied lands in a manner suitable to the established forms, and disposes of the public treasure. So many prerogatives, which lead on to usurpation, render government more arbitrary at Virginia than it is in the more northern colonies: they frequently open the door to oppression.

The council is composed of twelve members, created either by letters patent, or by particular order from the king. When there happen to be less than nine in the country, the governor chuses three out of the principal inhabitants to make up the number. They form a kind of upper-house, and are at the same time to assist the administration, and to counteract tyranny. They have also the power of rejecting all acts passed in the lower house. The salaries of the whole body amount to no more than 384*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* halfpenny.

Virginia is divided into 25 counties, each of which sends two deputies. James-town and the college have each of them separately the right of naming one, which make up in all 52. Every inhabitant possessed of a freehold, except only women and minors, has the right of election, and that of being elected. Though there is no time fixed by law for holding the general assembly, it commonly meets either once a year, or once in every two years; and the meeting is very seldom deferred till three. The frequency of these meetings is infallibly kept up by the precaution
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of granting supplies only for a short time. All acts passed in the two houses must be sent over to the sovereign, to receive his sanction; but till that returns, they are always in force, when they have been approved by the governor.

The public revenues of Virginia are collected from different sources, and appropriated in different manners. The tax of 1*s.* 11*d.* halfpenny upon every quintal of tobacco; that of 14*s.* 9*d.* per ton, which every vessel full or empty is obliged to pay at its return from a voyage; that of 9*s.* 10*d.* a-head exacted from all passengers, slaves as well as free men, upon their arrival in the colony; the penalties and forfeitures appointed by different acts of the province; the duty upon both the lands and personal estates of those who leave no legitimate heir; these different articles, which together amount to 3,062*l.* 10*s.* are to be employed in the current expences of the colony, according to the direction of the governor and the council. The general assembly has nothing more to do in this matter but to audit the accounts.

This assembly, however, has reserved to itself the sole disposition of the funds raised for extraordinary services. These arise from a duty of entrance upon strong liquors, from one of 19*s.* 8*d.* farthing upon every slave, and one of about 14*s.* 9*d.* upon every servant, not an Englishman, that enters the colony. A revenue of this nature must be extremely variable; but in general it is pretty considerable, and has been usually well administered.

Besides these taxes which are paid in money, there are others paid in kind. They are a sort of a triple poll tax on the article of tobacco, which the white women only are exempted from. The first is raised by order of the general assembly, for the purpose of paying the expences of its meeting, for that of the militia, and for some other national exigences. The second, which is called provincial, is imposed by the justices of the peace in each county for its particular uses. The third is parochial, raised by

by the chief persons of the community, upon every thing that has more or less connection with the established form of worship.

In the beginning justice was administered with that kind of disinterestedness which was itself the security for the equity observed in it. One single court had the cognizance of all causes, and used to decide them in a few days, leaving only an appeal to the general assembly, which was not less diligent in terminating them. So good a system did not continue long: in 1692 all the statutes and formalities of the mother country were adopted, and all the chicanery of it was introduced along with them. Since that time every county has its distinct tribunal, composed of a sheriff, his under-officers and juries. From these courts all causes are carried to the council, where the governor presides, who has the power of determining finally in all concerns as far as about 295*l*. If the sums contended for are more considerable, the contest may be referred to the king: in all criminal matters the council pronounces without appeal: not that the life of a citizen is of less consequence than his property, but because the application of the law is much easier in criminal than in civil causes. The governor has the right of pardoning in all cases but those of wilful murder and high treason, and even in these he may suspend the execution of the sentence till he has sent to know the king's pleasure.

With respect to religion, the inhabitants not only began themselves by professing that of the church of England; but, in 1642, the assembly passed a decree, which indirectly excluded from the province all those who should not be of this communion. The necessity of peopling the country soon occasioned the repeal of this law, which was rather of a hierarchal than of a religious nature. A toleration granted so late, and evidently with reluctance, produced no great effect. Only five non-conformist churches were added to the colony, one of which consisted of Presbyterians, three of Quakers, and one of French refugees.

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The mother church has 39 parishes. Every parish chuses its minister; who must, however, be approved of by the governor before he takes possession. In some parishes, he is paid in land, and furnished with all the necessary instruments for cultivating it; in others, his salary is 16,000 pounds weight of tobacco. Besides this, he receives either about 4*s.* 11*d.* or fifty pounds of tobacco, for every marriage; and 1*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* halfpenny, or four hundred pounds of tobacco, for every funeral sermon, which he is obliged to make over the grave of every free-man. With all these advantages, most of the clergy are not contented, because they may be deprived of their benefices by those who conferred them.

At first the colony was inhabited only by men; soon after, they grew desirous of sharing the sweets of their situation with female companions. In the beginning they gave 98*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* for every young person that was brought them, from whom they required no other dowry than a certificate of virtue. When the salubrity and fertility of the climate were ascertained, whole families, and even some of respectable condition, went over to settle in Virginia. In time they increased to such a degree, that in 1703 there were already 66,606 white people in the colony. If since that time they have not increased above a sixth, it must be attributed to a pretty considerable emigration occasioned by the arrival of the blacks.

The first of these slaves were brought into Virginia by a Dutch ship in 1621. Their number was not considerable at first; but the increase of them has been so prodigious since the beginning of this century, that there are at present 110,000 negroes in the colony; which occasions a double loss to mankind, first, in exhausting the population of Africa; and secondly, in preventing that of the Europeans in America.

Virginia has neither fortified places nor regular troops; they would be useless in a province, which

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from its situation and the nature of its productions is protected both from foreign invasions, and from the incursions of the savages wandering about this vast continent, who have long been too weak to attack it. The militia, which is composed of all the free-men from sixteen to sixty years of age, is sufficient to keep the slaves in order. Every county reviews all its troops once, and the separate companies three or four times a year. Upon the least alarm given in any particular part of the country, all the forces in it march. If they are out more than two days, they receive pay; if not, it is reckoned a part of their stated service. Such is the government of Virginia, and such is very nearly that of Maryland; which, after having been included in this colony, was separated from it for reasons which must be explained.

3. *Maryland is detached from Virginia.*

CHARLES the First, far from having any aversion for the Catholics, had some reason to protect them, from the zeal, which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had shewn for his interest. But when the accusation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whose chief aim was to establish a despotic government, he was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted against them by Henry the Eighth. These circumstances induced lord Baltimore to seek an asylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conscience. As he found there no toleration for an exclusive faith which was itself intolerant, he formed the design of a new settlement in that uninhabited part of the country which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pensylvania. His death, which happened soon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a stop to the project for that time; but it was resumed, from the same religious motives, by his son.

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This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman Catholics, most of them of good families. The education they had received, the cause of religion for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promised them, prevented those disturbances which are but too common in infant settlements. The neighbouring savages, prevailed upon by mildness and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerness to assist the new colonists in forming their settlement. With this unexpected help these fortunate persons, attached to each other by the same principles of religion, and directed by the prudent counsels of their chief, applied themselves unanimously to every kind of useful labour: the view of the peace and happiness they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were persecuted either for the same religion, or for different opinions.

The Catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims after having first set the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all sects of what religious principles soever. Baltimore also granted the most extensive civil liberty to every stranger who chose to purchase lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country.

These wise and generous precautions, however, did not secure the governor, at the time of the subversion of the monarchy, from losing all the rights and concessions that he had obtained. Deprived of his possessions by Cromwell, he was restored to them by Charles II. after which they were again disputed with him. Tho' he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-administration; and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the interest of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law

for the jurisdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himself had peopled. This prince, whose misfortune it had always been, never to have known his friends from his foes, and who had also the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was sufficient to justify every act of violence, was preparing a second time to deprive Baltimore, of what had been given him by two kings, his father and his brother; when he was himself removed from the throne which he filled so ill. The successor of this weak despotic prince terminated this contest, which had arisen before his accession to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in possession of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority; which, however, they likewise recovered, upon becoming members of the church of England.

The province is at present divided into eleven counties, and inhabited by 40,000 white men and 60,000 blacks. It is governed by a chief, who is named by the proprietor, and by a council and two deputies chosen in each county. The governor, like the king in the other colonies, has a negative voice in all acts proposed by the assembly; that is to say, the right of rejecting them.

4. *Virginia and Maryland cultivate the same productions.*

If Maryland were re-united to Virginia, as their common interest seems to require, no difference could be found between the two settlements. They are situated between Pennsylvania and Carolina, and occupy the great space that extends from the sea to the Apalachian mountains. The air, which is damp on the coast, becomes light, pure, and subtle, as one approaches the mountains. The spring and autumn months are of an excellent temperature: in summer there are some days excessively hot, and in winter
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some extremely cold ; but neither of these excesses lasts above a week at a time. The most disagreeable circumstance in the climate is the abundance of noxious insects that are found there.

All the domestic animals multiply prodigiously ; and all sorts of fruits, trees, and vegetables, succeed there extremely well. There is the best corn in all America. The soil, which is rich and fertile in the low lands, is always good, even in those places where it becomes more sandy ; more irregular than it is described by some travellers, but tolerably even till one comes near the mountains.

From these reservoirs an incredible number of rivers flow, most of which are separated only by an interval of five or six miles. Besides the fertility which these waters impart to the country they pass through, they also make it infinitely more convenient for trade than any other part of the new world, from facilitating the communications.

Most of these rivers have a very extensive inland navigation for merchant-ships, and some of them for men of war. One may go near two hundred miles up the Potowmack ; above eighty up the James, the York, and the Rapahannock ; and, upon the other rivers, to a distance that varies according as the cataracts are more or less distant from their mouths. All these navigable canals, formed by nature, meet in the bay of Chesapeake, which has from seven to nine fathom water both at its entrance and in its whole extent. It reaches above two hundred miles in the inland parts of the country, and is about twelve miles in its mean breadth. Tho' it is full of small islands, most of them covered with wood, it is by no means dangerous ; and so large, that all the ships in the universe might ride there with ease.

So uncommon an advantage has prevented the formation of any large towns in the two colonies ; and accordingly the inhabitants, who were assured that the ships would come up to their warehouses, and that they might embark their commodities with-

out going from their own houses, have dispersed themselves upon the borders of the several rivers. In this situation, they found all the pleasures of a rural life, united to all the ease that trade brings into cities; they found the facility of extending their cultivation in a country that had no bounds, united to all the assistance which the fertilization of the lands receives from commerce. But the mother country suffered a double inconvenience from this dispersion of the colonists: first, because her sailors were longer absent, by being obliged to collect their cargoes from these scattered habitations; and secondly, because their ships are exposed to injury from those dangerous insects, which in the months of June and July infest all the rivers of this distant region. The ministry has therefore neglected no means of engaging the colonists to establish staples for the reception of their commodities. The constraint of the laws has not had more effect than persuasion. At length, a few years ago, forts were ordered to be built at the entrance of every river, to protect the loading and unloading of the ships. If this project had not failed in the execution from the want of a sufficient fund, it is probable that the inhabitants would have collected imperceptibly round each of these fortresses. But it may still be questioned, whether this circumstance would not have proved fatal to population, and whether agriculture might not have lost as much as commerce would have gained by it?

Be this as it may, it is certain that there are but two towns at present of any kind of note in the two colonies. Even those which are the seat of government are of no great importance. Williamsburgh the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis that of Maryland, the first risen upon the ruins of James-town, the other upon those of St Mary, are neither of them superior to one of our common villages.

As, in all human affairs, every good is attended with some kind of evil: so it has happened, that
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the increase of habitations, by retarding the population of towns, has prevented any artists or manufacturers from being formed in either of the provinces. With all the materials necessary to supply them with most of their wants, and even with several of their conveniences, they are still obliged to draw from Europe their cloths, linens, hats, hardware, and even furniture of the most ordinary kind.

These numerous and general expences have exhausted the inhabitants; besides which, they have vied with each other in displaying every kind of luxury before all the British merchants who visit their plantations from motives of commercial interest. By these means, they have run so much in debt with the mother country, that many of them have been obliged to sell their lands; or, in order still to keep possession of them, to mortgage them at an usurious interest of eight or nine *per cent.*

It will be no easy matter for the two provinces ever to emerge from this desperate state. Their navy does not amount to above a thousand tons; and all they send to the Carribbee islands in corn, cattle, and planks, with all they expedite for Europe in hemp, flax, leather, peltry, and walnut-tree or cedar wood, does not bring them a return of more than 43,750*l.* The only resource they have left is in tobacco.

5. *Of the Tobacco-trade.*

Tobacco is a sharp, caustic, and even venomous plant, which has been formerly of great repute, and is still used in medicine. Every body is acquainted with the general consumption made of it, by chewing, smoking, or taking snuff. It was discovered in the year 1520 by the Spaniards, who found it first in the Jucatan, a large peninsula in the gulph of Mexico, from whence it was carried into the neighbouring islands. Soon after, the use of it became a matter
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of dispute among the learned, which the ignorant also took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired some reputation. By degrees fashion and custom have greatly extended its consumption in all parts of the known world. It is at present cultivated with more or less success in Europe, Asia, Africa, and several parts of America.

The stem of this plant is straight, hairy, and viscid; and its leaves are thick, flabby, and of a pale-green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the summit of the plant. It requires a soil of a good consistence; but rich, even, deep, and not too much exposed to inundations. A virgin soil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of sap.

The seeds of the tobacco are sown in layers. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got at least half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and transplanted with great care into a well-prepared soil, where the plants are placed at the distance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with these precautions, their leaves do not suffer the least injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours.

The cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which gather about it must be plucked up; the head of it must be cut off when it is the size of two feet and a half, to prevent it from growing too high; it must be stripped of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which grow too low down upon the stem, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have touched, must all be removed, and their number reduced to eight or ten at most. A single industrious man is able to take care of two thousand five hundred plants, which ought to yield one thousand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleasant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are

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also curved, and the smell they exhale is increased, and extends to a greater distance. The plant is then ripe, and must be cut.

The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the same ground that produced them, where they are left to exude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouses, constructed in such a manner that the air may have free access to them on all sides. Here they are left separately suspended as long a time as is necessary to dry them well. They are then spread upon hurdles, and well covered over; where they ferment for a week or two. At last they are stripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different tastes of the several nations that use it, have nothing to do with its cultivation.

Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has answered so well as in Maryland and Virginia. As it was the only occupation of the first planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find a sale for. They were then obliged to stop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every habitation throughout Maryland. But in process of time the uses of this herb became so general, that they have been obliged to increase the number both of the whites and blacks who are employed in preparing it. At present, each of the colonies furnishes nearly an equal quantity. That from Virginia, which is the mildest, the most perfumed and the dearest, is consumed in England and in the southern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates, from its cheapness, and even from its coarseness, which makes it better adapted to less delicate organs.

As navigation has not yet made the same progress in these provinces as in the rest of North America, the tobacco is commonly transported in the ships of the mother country. They are very often three,
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four, and even six months in completing their cargo. This delay arises from several very evident causes. First, as there are no magazines or general receptacles for the tobacco, it is necessary to go and fetch it from the several plantations. Secondly, few planters are able to load a whole ship if they would; and if they were, they would not chuse to venture their whole upon one bottom. In short, as the price of the freight is fixed, and is always the same whether the articles are ready for embarkation or not, the planters wait till they are pressed by the captains themselves to hasten the exportation. All these several reasons are the cause why vessels only of a moderate size are generally employed upon this service. The larger they would be, the longer time they would be detained in America.

Virginia always pays 1*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* halfpenny freight for every barrel of tobacco, and Maryland only 1*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* farthing. This difference is owing to the less value of the merchandise, and to the greater expedition made in loading it. The English merchant loses by the carriage, but it is made up to him by the commissions. As he is always employed in all the sales and purchases made for the colonists, he is amply compensated for his losses and his trouble, by an allowance of five *per cent.* upon these commissions.

This navigation employs two hundred and fifty ships, which make up 30,000 tons. They take in a hundred thousand barrels of tobacco from the two colonies, which, at the rate of eight hundred pounds a barrel, make eighty millions of pounds weight. That part of the commodity which grows between York and James rivers, and in some other places, is extremely dear; but the whole taken upon an average sells only for about 2*d.* farthing a pound in England, which makes in all 738,281*l.* 5*s.* Besides the advantage it is of to Britain to exchange its manufactures to the amount of this sum, it gains another by the re-exportation of four-fifths of the tobacco. This alone is an object of 442,968*l.* 15*s.* besides what is to be reckoned for freight and commission.

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The custom-house duties are a still more considerable object to government. There is a tax of about 6*d.* farthing upon every pound of tobacco that enters the kingdom. This, supposing the whole eighty millions of pounds imported to remain in it, would bring the state 2,078,124*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* three farthings; but as four fifths are re-exported, and all the duties are remitted upon that portion, the public revenue gains only 831,250*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* farthing. Experience teaches, that a third of this must be deducted for prompt payment of what the merchant has a right to be eighteen months in paying, and to allow for the smuggling that is carried on in the small ports as well as in the large ones. This deduction will amount to 277,084*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* farthing, and there will consequently remain for government no more than 554,168*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* half-penny.

Notwithstanding these last abuses, Virginia and Maryland are much more advantageous to Great Britain than the other northern colonies, more so even than Carolina.

CH A P. III.

OF C A R O L I N A.

1. *Origin.*

CAROLINA extends three hundred miles along the coast, which is two hundred miles broad, as far as the Apalachian mountains. It was discovered by the Spaniards, soon after the first expeditions in the new world; but as they found no gold there to satisfy their avarice, they despised it. Admiral Coligny, with more prudence and ability, opened an asylum there to the industry of the French

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protestants; but the fanaticism that pursued them soon destroyed all their hopes, which were totally lost in the murder of that just, humane, and enlightened man. Some English succeeded them towards the end of the 16 century; who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile soil, in order to go and cultivate a more ungrateful land, and in a less agreeable climate.

2. *System of religious and civil government established by Locke.*

THERE WAS not a single European remaining in Carolina, when the lords Berkeley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, and Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir William Colleton, obtained from Charles II. in 1663, a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was laid down by the famous Locke. A philosopher who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and justice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppose the prevalence of fanaticism, than by an unlimited toleration in matters of religion; but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of his time, which were as much the effect of the virtues as of the crimes of the age, he endeavoured at least to reconcile them, if possible, with a principle of reason and humanity. The wild inhabitants of America, said he, have no idea of a revelation; it would, therefore, be the height of extravagance to make them suffer for their ignorance. The different sects of Christians who might come to people the colony, would, without doubt, expect a liberty of conscience there, which priests and princes refused them in Europe; nor should Jews or Pagans be rejected on account of a blindness which lenity and persuasion might contribute to remove. Such was the reasoning of Mr Locke with men prejudiced and influenced by opi-
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nions which no one hitherto had taken the liberty to call in question. Disgusted with the troubles and misfortunes which the different systems of religion had given birth to in Europe, they readily acquiesced in the arguments he proposed to them. They admitted toleration in the same manner as intolerance is received, without examining into the merits of it. The only restriction laid upon this saving principle was, that every person, claiming the protection of that settlement, should at the age of seventeen register themselves in some particular communion.

The English philosopher was not so favourable to civil liberty. Whether it were, that those who had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of government had restrained his views, as will be the case with every writer who employs his pen for great men or ministers; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphysician than a statesman, pursued philosophy only in those tracts which had been opened by Descartes and Leibnitz; the same man, who had dissipated and destroyed so many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legislation. The author of a work, whose continuance will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny shall have broken all the springs, and all the monuments of the genius and merit of a people esteemed by the whole world for so many amiable and brilliant qualities; even Montesquieu himself, did not perceive that he was making men for governments, instead of making governments for men.

The code of Carolina, by a singularity not to be accounted for in an Englishman and a philosopher, gave to the eight proprietors who founded the settlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewise all the powers of legislation.

The court, which was composed of this sovereign body, and was called the Palatine Court, was invested with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobi-

lity, but under new and unprecedented titles. For instance, they were to create in each county two Caciques, each of whom was to be possessed of twenty four thousand acres of land, and a Landgrave, who was to be possessed of fourscore thousand. The persons on whom these honours should be bestowed were to compose the upper house; and their possessions were made unalienable, a circumstance totally inconsistent with good policy. They had only the right of farming or letting out a third part of them at the most for the continuance of three lives.

The lower house was formed of the deputies from the several counties and towns. The number of this representative body was to be increased in proportion as the colony grew more populous. No tenant was to pay more than one shilling per acre, and even this rent was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however, both slaves and freemen, were under an obligation to take arms upon the first order they should receive from the Palatine Court.

It was not long before the faults of a constitution, in which the powers of the state were so unequally divided, began to discover themselves. The proprietary lords, influenced by despotic principles, used every endeavour to establish an arbitrary government. On the other hand, the colonists, who were not ignorant of the general rights of mankind, exerted themselves with equal zeal to avoid servitude. From this struggle of opposite interests arose an inevitable confusion, which put a stop to every useful effort of industry. The whole province, distracted with quarrels, dissensions, and tumults, was rendered incapable of making any progress, whatever improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its situation.

Nor were these evils sufficient: new ones arose, as if a remedy could only be attained from an excess of grievances. Granville, who, as the oldest of the proprietors, was in 1705, sole governor of the colony, formed the resolution of obliging all the non-conformists, who made up two-thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worship established in England.

land. This act of violence, though disavowed and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. In 1720, while this animosity was still prevailing, the province was attacked by several bands of savages, driven to despair by a continued course of the most atrocious insolence and injustice. Those unfortunate wretches were all conquered, and all put to the sword: but the courage and vigour which this war revived in the breasts of the colonists was the prelude to the fall of their oppressors. Those tyrants having refused to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themselves, were all, excepting Carteret, who still preserved one eighth of the country, stripped in 1728 of their prerogatives, which they had only known how to make an ill use of. They received, however, 23,625 *l.* by way of compensation. From this time the crown resumed the government; and in order to give the colony a foretaste of its moderation, bestowed on it the same constitution as on others. It was further divided into two separate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration of it. It is from this happy period that the prosperity of this great province is to be dated.

3. *Climate and produce.*

THERE is not, perhaps, throughout the new world, a climate to be compared with that of Carolina. The two seasons of the year, which, for the most part, only moderate the excesses of the two others, are here delightful. The heats of the summer are not excessive; and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and evenings. The fogs, which are always common upon a coast of any length, are dispersed before the middle of the day. But on the other hand here, as well as in every other part almost of America, the inhabitants are subject to such sud-

den and violent changes of weather, as oblige them to observe a regularity in their diet and clothing which would be unnecessary in a more settled climate. Another inconvenience, peculiar to this tract of the northern continent, is that of being tormented with hurricanes; but these are less frequent and less violent than in the islands.

A vast, melancholy, uniform, unvaried plain extends from the sea-shore fourscore or a hundred miles within land. From this distance the country, beginning to rise, affords a more pleasing prospect, a purer and drier air. This part, before the arrival of the English, was covered with one immense forest, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It consisted of large trees growing, as nature had cast them, without order or design, at unequal distances, and not encumbered with underwood; by which means more land could be cleared here in a week than in several months among us.

The soil of Carolina is very various. On the coast, and about the mouths of the rivers, which fall into the sea, it is either covered with impracticable and unhealthful morasses; or made up of a pale, light sandy earth, which produces nothing. In one part, it is barren to an extreme; in another, among the numberless streams that divide the country, it is excessively fruitful. At a distance from the coasts, there are found sometimes large wastes of white sand, which produce nothing but pines; at others there are lands, where the oak and the walnut-tree announce fertility. These variations cease when you get into the inland parts, and the country every where is agreeable and rich.

Admirably adapted as these spots are for the purposes of cultivation, the province does not want others equally favourable for the breeding of cattle. Thousands of horned cattle are raised here; which go out in the morning, without a herdsman, to feed in the woods, and return home at night of their own accord. Their hogs, which are suffered to fat-

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ten themselves in the same manner, are still more numerous and much better in their kind. But mutton degenerates there both in flesh and wool. For this reason it is less common.

In 1723, the whole colony consisted of no more than four thousand white people, and thirty-two thousand blacks. Its exportations to other parts of America and to Europe did not exceed 216,562 $\frac{1}{10}$ s. Since that time it hath acquired a degree of splendor which it owes intirely to the enjoyment of liberty.

South Carolina, though it hath succeeded in establishing a considerable barter trade with the savages, hath gained a manufacture of linens by means of the French refugees, and invented a new kind of stuff by mixing the silk it produces with its wool; yet is its progress principally to be attributed to the produce of rice and indigo.

The first of these articles was brought there by an accident. A ship, on its return from India, ran aground on this coast. It was laden with rice; which, being tossed on shore by the waves, grew up again. This unexpected good fortune led them to try the cultivation of a commodity which the soil seemed of itself to require. For a long time little progress was made in it: because the colonists being obliged to send their crops to the mother country, from whence they were shipped again for Spain and Portugal, where the consumption was, sold them at so low a price that it scarce answered the expences of cultivation. Since 1730, when a more enlightened ministry gave them permission to export and sell their grain themselves at foreign markets, an increase of profit has produced an additional growth of the commodity. The quantity is at present greatly augmented, and may be still more; but whether so much to the benefit of the colony, is doubtful. Of all productions, rice is the most detrimental to the salubrity of the climate: at least, it hath been esteemed so in the Milanese, where the peasants on the rice-grounds are

all of them fallow complectioned and dropfical; and in France, where that article hath been totally prohibited, Egypt had without doubt its precautions againft the ill effects of a grain in other refpects fo nutritious. China muft alfo have its prefervatives, which art fets up againft nature, whofe favours are fometimes attended with pernicious confequences. Perhaps alfo under the torrid zone, where rice grows in the greateft abundance, the heat, which makes it flourish in the midft of water, quickly difperfes the moift and noxious vapours that exhale from the rice-fields. But if the cultivation of rice fhould one day come to be neglected in Carolina, that of indigo will make ample amends for it.

This plant, which is a native of Indoftan, was firft brought to perfection in Mexico and the Leeward iflands. It was tried later, and with lefs fuccefs, in South Carolina. This principle ingredient in dying is there of fo inferior a quality, that it is fcarce fold at half the price it bears in other places. Yet thofe who cultivate it, do not defpair in time of fupplanting both the Spaniards and French at every market. The goodnefs of their climate, the extent of their lands, the plenty and cheapnefs of their provifions, the opportunities they have of fupplying themfelves with utenfils and of procuring flaves; every thing, in fhort, flatters their expectation: and the fame hope has always extended itfelf to the inhabitants of North Carolina.

It is well known, that this country was the firft, on the continent of the new world, on which the Englifh landed; for here is the bay of Roanoak, which Raleigh took poffeffion of in 1585. A total emigration, in a fhort time, left it deftitute of colonifts; nor did it begin to be repeopled, even when large fettlements were eftablifhed in the neighbouring countries. We cannot otherwife account for this dereliction, than from the obftacles which trading veffels had to encounter in this beautiful region. None of its rivers are deep enough to admit fhips of
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more than seventy or eighty tons. Those of greater burden are forced to anchor between the continent and some adjacent islands. The tenders, which are employed in lading and unlading them, augment the expence and trouble both of their exports and imports.

From this circumstance, probably, it was, that North-Carolina in the beginning was inhabited only by a set of wretches without name, laws, or profession. In proportion as the lands in the neighbouring colonies grew more scarce, those who were not able to purchase them betook themselves to a country where they could get lands without purchase. Refugees of other kinds availed themselves of the same resource. Order and property became established at the same time; and this colony, with fewer advantages than South-Carolina, obtained a greater number of European settlers.

The first people, whom chance dispersed along these savage coasts, confined themselves to the breeding of cattle, and cutting wood, which were taken off their hands by the merchants of New-England. In a short time they contrived to make the pine-tree produce them turpentine, tar, and pitch. For the turpentine, they had nothing to do but to make two slits in the trunk of the tree, about a foot in length, at the bottom of which they placed vessels to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raised a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pine-wood: to these they set fire, and the rosin distilled from them into casks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it; or in pits formed of potter's earth, into which it was poured while in a fluid state. This labour, however, was not sufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants: they then proceeded to grow corn; and for a long time were contented with maize, as their neighbours in South-Carolina were obliged to be, where the wheat being subject to mildew, and to exhaust itself in straw,
never

never thrive. But several experiments having proved to the North-Carolinians that they were not liable to the same inconvenience, they succeeded so far in the cultivation of that grain, that they were even able to supply a considerable exportation. Rice and indigo have been but lately introduced into this province, to join the harvests of Africa and Asia to those of Europe. The cultivation of them is but yet in its infancy.

There is scarce one twentieth part of the territory belonging to the two Carolinas that is cleared; and, at this time, the only cultivated spots are those which are the most sandy and the nearest to the sea. The reason why the colonists have not settled farther back in the country is, that of ten navigable rivers, there is not one that will admit shipping higher than sixty miles. This inconvenience is not to be remedied but by making roads or canals; and works of that kind require so many hands, and so much expence and knowledge, that the hopes of such an improvement are still very distant.

Neither of the colonies, however, have reason to complain of their lot. The imposts, which are all levied on the exportation and importation of merchandise, do not exceed 5,906*l.* 5*s.* The paper-currency of North Carolina does not amount to more than 49,118*l.* 15*s.* and that of South Carolina, which is infinitely more wealthy, is only 246,093*l.* 15*s.* Neither of them is in debt to the mother country; and this advantage, which is not common even in the English colonies, they derive from the great amount of their exportations to the neighbouring provinces, the Leeward islands, and to Europe.

In 1754, there were exported from South Carolina, seven hundred and fifty-nine barrels of turpentine, two thousand nine hundred and forty three of tar; five thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine of pitch or resin; four hundred and sixteen barrels of beef; fifteen hundred and sixty of pork; sixteen thousand

thousand four hundred bushels of Indian corn, and nine thousand one hundred and sixty two of pease; four thousand one hundred and eighty tanned hides, and twelve hundred in the hair; one million one hundred and forty thousand planks, two hundred and six thousand joists, and three hundred and eighty-five thousand feet of timber; eight hundred and eighty-two hogs-heads of wild deer-skins; one hundred and four thousand six hundred and eighty-two barrels of rice; two hundred and sixteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-four pounds of indigo.

In the same year North Carolina exported sixty-one thousand five hundred and twenty-eight barrels of tar, twelve thousand and fifty-five of pitch, and ten thousand four hundred and twenty-nine of turpentine; seven hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and thirty planks, and two thousand six hundred and forty-seven feet of timber; sixty-one thousand, five hundred bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of pease; three thousand three hundred barrels of beef and pork; one hundred hogsheds of tobacco; ten thousand hundred-weight of tanned hides, and thirty thousand skins of different kinds.

In the above account, there is not a single article that has not been considerably increased since that time. Several of them have been doubled; and the most valuable of all, the indigo, has increased to three times the quantity.

Some productions of North Carolina are exported to Europe and the Caribbees, tho' there is no staple town to receive them, and that Edinton, the ancient capital of the province, as well as that which has been built in lieu of it upon the river Neus, can scarce be considered as small villages. The largest and most valuable part of its exports is conveyed to CHARLESTOWN, to increase the riches of South Carolina.

This town lies between the two navigable rivers, Cooper and Ashley; surrounded by the most beautiful plantations of the colony, of which it is the centre and the capital. It is well built, intersected with
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several agreeable streets, and its fortifications are tolerably regular. The large fortunes that have been made there from the accession and circulation of its trade, must necessarily have had some influence upon the manners of the people : of all the towns in North America, it is the one in which the conveniences of luxury are most to be met with. But the disadvantage its road labours under, of not being able to admit of ships of above two hundred tons, will make it lose its present splendor. It will be deserted for *Port Royal*, which admits vessels of all kinds into its harbour, and in great numbers. A settlement has already been formed there, which is continually increasing, and may most probably meet with the greatest success. Besides the productions of North and South Carolina, that will naturally come to its market, it will also receive those of Georgia, a colony that has been lately established near it.

CHAP. IV.

Of GEORGIA.

I. *Foundation.*

CAROLINA and Spanish Florida are separated from each other by a great tract of land which extends one hundred and twenty miles upon the sea-coast, and three hundred miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and whose boundaries to the north and south are the rivers Savannah and Alata-maha. The English ministry had been long desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was considered as dependent upon Carolina. One of those instances of benevolence, which liberty, the source of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, served to determine the views of government with regard to this place.

place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his estate to set at liberty such insolvent debtors as were detained in prison by their creditors. Prudential reasons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that such unhappy prisoners, as were released, should be transplanted into that desert country, that was now intended to be peopled; it was named *Georgia*, in honour of the reigning sovereign.

This instance of respect, the more pleasing as it was not the effect of flattery, and the execution of a design of so much real advantage to the state, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 9843*l.* 15*s.* to the estate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary subscription produced a much more considerable sum. General Oglethorpe, a man who had distinguished himself in the house of commons by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was fixed upon to direct these public finances, and to carry into execution so excellent a project. Desirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he chose to conduct himself the first colonists that were to be sent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a spot at ten miles distance from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. This rising settlement was called *Savannah* from the name of the river; and inconsiderable as it was in its infant state, was, however, to become the capital of a flourishing colony. It consisted at first of no more than one hundred persons, but, before the end of the year, the number was increased to 618, 127 of whom had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men and 113 women, 102 lads and 83 girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous posterity.

This settlement was increased in 1735 by the arrival of some Scotch highlanders. Their national courage

courage induced them to accept an establishment offered them upon the borders of the Alatomaha, to defend the colony, if necessary, against the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Frederica, and several of their countrymen came over to settle among them.

In the same year, a great number of protestants, driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical priest, embarked for Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. At first they settled on a spot situated just above that of the infant colony; but they afterwards chose to be at a greater distance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town called *Ebenezer*.

Some Switzers followed the example of these wise Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been persecuted. They also settled on the banks of the Savannah; but at the distance of four and thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony, consisting of a hundred habitations, was named *Pursburgh*, from Pury their founder, who, having been at the expence of their settlement, was deservedly chosen their chief, in testimony of their gratitude to him.

In these four or five colonies, some men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. These, therefore, separated from the rest in order to build the city Augusta, two hundred and thirty-six miles distant from the ocean. The goodness of the soil, though excellent in itself, was not the motive of their fixing upon this situation; but the facility it afforded them of carrying on the peltry trade with the savages. Their project was so successful, that, as early as the year 1739, six hundred people were employed in this commerce. The sale of the skins was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumstance of the Savannah admitting the largest ships to sail upon it as far as the walls of Augusta.

The mother country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony, where
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she had sent near five thousand men, and laid out 64,968*l.* 15*s.* independent of the voluntary contributions that had been raised by zealous patriots. But to her great surprise, she received information in 1741, that there remained scarce a sixth part of that numerous colony sent to Georgia; who being now totally discouraged, seemed only desirous to fix in a more favourable situation. The reasons of these calamities were inquired into and discovered.

2. Impediments that have prevented the progress of Georgia.

THIS colony, even in its infancy, brought with it the seeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent scheme; but nations as well as individuals do not learn instruction from past misconduct. An enlightened government, tho' checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard against every misuse of its confidence. The English ministry, though zealously attached to the common welfare, sacrificed the public interest to the rapacious views of interested individuals.

The first use that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were invested with, was to establish a system of legislation, that made them entirely masters not only of the police, justice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and estates of its inhabitants. Every species of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original possessors of them all. Obedience was required of the people, though contrary to their interest and knowledge; and it was considered here, as in other countries, as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty

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acres

acres of land; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to dispose of by will to their female issue. This last regulation of making only the male issue capable of inheritance, was soon abolished; but there still remained too many obstacles to excite a spirit of emulation. It seldom happens, that a man resolves to leave his country but upon the prospect of some great advantage that works strongly upon his imagination. Whatever limits are prescribed to his industry, are, therefore, so many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries assigned to every plantation must necessarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors still affected the original plan of this colony, which prevented its increase.

The taxes imposed upon the most fertile of the British colonies, are very inconsiderable; and even these are not levied till the settlements have acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity. From its infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been as it were fettered. The revenues raised by this kind of service increased prodigiously, in proportion as the colony extended itself. The founders of it, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the smallest duty imposed upon the trade of a populous and flourishing province, would much sooner enrich them than the largest fines laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this species of oppression was added another; which, however incredible it may appear, might arise from a spirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the use of slaves. Carolina and some other colonies having been established without their assistance, it was thought, that a country, destined to be the bulwark of those American possessions, ought not to be peopled by a set of slaves, who could not be in the least interested in the defence of their oppressors. But it was not at the same time foreseen, that colonists, who were less favoured by the

the mother country than their neighbours who were situated in a country less susceptible of tillage and in a hotter climate, would want strength and spirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement.

The indolence which so many obstacles gave rise to, found a further excuse, in another prohibition that had been imposed. The disturbances produced by the use of spirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the colonists of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, that were generally unwholesome; and of the only means they had to restore the waste of strength and spirits that must be the consequence of incessant labour. Besides this, it prevented their commerce with the Antilles; as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn, and cattle, that ought to have been their most valuable commodities, in return for the rum of those islands.

The mother country at length perceived how much these defects in the political regulations and institutions had prevented the increase of the colony, and freed them from the restraints they had before been clogged with; and the government in Georgia was settled upon the same plan as that which had rendered Carolina so flourishing; and, instead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national possessions.

Though this colony has not so extensive a territory, so temperate a climate, nor so fertile a soil, as the neighbouring province; and though it can never be so flourishing as Carolina, notwithstanding it cultivates rice, indigo, and almost all the same productions; yet it will become advantageous to the mother country, when the apprehensions arising from the tyranny of its government, which have with reason prevented people from settling there, are removed. It will one day no longer be asserted, that Georgia is the least popu-

lous of all the English colonies upon the continent, notwithstanding the succours government has so amply bestowed upon it. All these advantages will fortunately be increased by the acquisition of Florida; a province which from its vicinity must necessarily influence the prosperity of Georgia, and which claims our attention for still more important reasons.

CHAP. V.

OF FLORIDA.

1. *History of Florida. Its cession from the Spaniards to the British.*

UNDER the name of Florida, the ambition of Spain comprehended all that tract of land in America which extends from Mexico to the most northern regions. But fortune, which sports with the vanity of nations, has long since confined this vague description to the peninsula formed by the sea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louisiana. The Spaniards, who had often satisfied themselves in preventing the population of a country they could not inhabit themselves, were desirous in 1565 of settling on this spot, after having driven the French from it, who had begun the year before to form a small establishment there.

The most easterly settlement in this colony was known by the name of St Mattheo. The conquerors would have abandoned it, notwithstanding it was situated on a navigable river at two leagues distance from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile soil, had they not discovered the Sassafras upon it.

This tree, a native of America, is better in Florida than in any other part of that continent. It grows equally on the borders of the sea and upon the mountains; but always in a soil that is neither too dry nor too damp.

damp. It is streight and lofty, like the fir-tree, without branches, and its top is formed somewhat in the shape of a cup. It is an ever-green, and its leaves resemble those of the laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is taken as the mullein and tea in infusion. Its root, which is well known in trade, being very serviceable in medicine, ought to be spongy, light, of a greyish colour; of a sharp, sweetish, and aromatic taste; and should have the smell of the fennel and anise. These qualities give it the virtue of promoting perspiration, resolving thick and viscous humours, and relieving palfies and catarrhs. It was formerly much used in venereal complaints.

The first Spaniards who settled there, would probably have fallen a sacrifice to this last disorder, but for the assistance of this powerful remedy; they would, at least, not have recovered from those dangerous fevers they were generally subject to at St Mattheo, whether in consequence of the food of the country or the badness of the waters. But the savages taught them, that by drinking, in a morning fasting, and at their meals, water in which saffrafas had been boiled, they might certainly depend upon a speedy recovery. The experiment, upon trial, proved successful. But still the village never emerged from the obscurity and distress which were, undoubtedly, the natural and insurmountable consequences that attended the conquerors of the new world.

Another establishment was formed upon the same coast, at fifteen leagues distance from St Mattheo, known by the name of St Augustine. The English attacked it in 1747, but were obliged to give up their attempts. Some Scotch Highlanders, who were desirous of covering the retreat of the assailants, were repulsed and slain. A sergeant, who fought among the Spaniards, was spared by the Indian savages, only that he might be reserved to undergo those torments which they inflict upon their prisoners. This man, it is said, on seeing the horrid tortures

that awaited him, addressed the blood-thirsty multitude in the following manner :

“ Heroes and patriarchs of the western world,
“ you were not the enemies I fought for ; but you
“ have at last been the conquerors. The chance of
“ war has thrown me in your power. Make what
“ use you please of the right of conquest. This is
“ a right I do not call in question. But as it is
“ customary in my country to offer a ransom for
“ one’s life, listen to a proposal not unworthy your
“ notice.

“ Know then, valiant Americans, that in the
“ country of which I am a native, there are some
“ men who possess a superior knowledge of the se-
“ crets of nature. One of those sages, connected
“ to me by the ties of kindred, imparted to me,
“ when I became a soldier, a charm to make me in-
“ vulnerable. You must have observed how I have
“ escaped all your darts : without such a charm,
“ would it have been possible for me to have survived
“ all the mortal blows you have aimed at me ? For
“ I appeal to your own valour, to testify that mine
“ has sufficiently exerted itself, and has not avoided
“ any danger. Life is not so much the object of my
“ request, as the glory of having communicated to
“ you a secret of so much consequence to your safe-
“ ty, and of rendering the most valiant nation upon
“ the earth, invincible. Suffer me only to have one
“ of my hands at liberty, in order to perform the
“ ceremonies of enchantment, of which I will now
“ make trial on myself before you.”

The Indians listened with eagerness to this discourse, which was flattering both to their warlike character and their turn for the marvellous. After a short consultation, they untied one of the prisoner’s arms. The Highlander begged that they would put his broad sword into the hands of the most expert and stoutest among them ; and at the same time laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering some words accompanied with magic signs, he

he cried aloud with a cheerful countenance: "Ob-
 "serve now, O valiant Indians, an incontestable
 "proof of my honesty. Thou warrior, who now
 "holds my keen-cutting weapon, do thou now
 "strike with all thy strength: far from being able
 "to sever my head from my body, thou wilt not
 "even wound the skin of my neck."

He had scarcely spoke these words, when the Indian, aiming the most violent blow, struck off the head of the sergeant to the distance of twenty feet. The savages, astonished, stood motionless, viewing the bloody corpse of the stranger, and then turning their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the prisoner had made use of to avoid the torture by hastening his death, they bestowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact, the date of which is too recent to admit of credit, has not all the marks of authenticity it should have, it will only be one falsehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

The Spaniards, who in all their progress through America, were more employed in destroying the inhabitants than in constructing of buildings, had formed only those two settlements we have taken notice of at the mouth of the channel of Bahama. At four-score leagues distance from St Augustine, upon the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, they had raised that of St Mark, at the mouth of the river Apalache. But this situation, well adapted to maintain a communication between the two continents of the new world, had already lost all the little consequence it had at first obtained, when the English settled at Carolina in 1704, and entirely destroyed it.

At the distance of thirty leagues further, was another colony, known by the name of St Joseph, but of less consequence than that of St Mark. Situated on a flat coast, and exposed to every wind, and on a barren soil and an uncultivated country, it

was

was the last place where one might expect to meet with inhabitants. But avarice being frequently a dupe to ignorance, some Spaniards settled there.

Those Spaniards who had formed an establishment at the bay of Pensacola upon the borders of Louisiana, were at least happier in their choice of situation. The soil was susceptible of culture; and there was a road which, had it been a little deeper at its entrance, might have been thought a good one, if the best ships that arrived there had not soon been worm-eaten.

These five colonies, scattered over a space sufficient to have formed a great kingdom, did not contain more than three thousand inhabitants surpassing each other in sloth and poverty. They were all supported by the produce of their cattle. The hides they sold at the Havannah, and the provisions with which they served their garrison, whose pay amounted to 32,822*l.* 10*s.* enabled them to purchase cloths and whatever else their soil did not furnish them with. Notwithstanding the miserable state in which they had been left by the mother country, the greatest part of them chose to go to Cuba, when Florida was ceded to Britain by the treaty of 1763. This acquisition, therefore, was no more than a desert; yet still it was some advantage to have got rid of a number of lazy, indolent, and disaffected inhabitants.

Great Britain was pleased with the prospect of peopling a vast province, whose limits have been extended even to the Mississippi by the cession France has made of part of Louisiana. The better to fulfil her project, she has divided it into two governments, under the names of East and West Florida.

The British had long been desirous of establishing themselves in that part of the continent, in order to open a free communication with the wealthiest colonies of Spain. At first they had no other view but in the profits arising from a contraband trade. But an advantage so precarious and momentary, was
not.

not an object of sufficient importance, nor any way suitable to the ambition of a great power. Cultivation alone can render the conquests of an industrious people flourishing. Sensible of this, the British give every encouragement to promote culture in the finest part of their dominions. In one year, 1769, the parliament voted no less than 9,007*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* half-penny for the two Floridas. Here, at least, the mother for some time administers to her new-born children; whereas, in other nations, the government sucks and exhausts at the same time the milk of the mother country and the blood of the colonies.

2. *By what means Britain may render Florida useful to her.*

It is not easy to determine, to what degree of splendour this indulgence, with time and good management, may raise the Floridas. Appearances, however, are highly promising. The air is healthy, and the soil fit for every kind of grain. Their first trials of rice, cotton, and indigo, were attended with such success, that the number of colonists was greatly increased by it. They pour in from the neighbouring provinces, the mother country, and all the Protestant dominions in Europe. How greatly might this population be increased, if the sovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly pursued, and would condescend to intermarriages with Indian families! And for what reason should this method of civilizing the savage tribes, which has been so successfully employed by the most enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who from their principles must admit a greater equality than other nations? Would they then be still reduced to the cruel alternative of seeing their crops burned, and their labourers massacred, or of persecuting without intermission, and exterminating without pity, those wandering bands of natives?

Surely

Surely a generous nation, which has made such great and such continued efforts to reign without a rival over this vast tract of the new world, should prefer to sanguinary and inglorious hostilities, a humane and infallible method of disarming the only enemy that remains to disturb her tranquillity !

The British flatter themselves, that without the assistance of these alliances they shall soon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of savage nations, say they, to waste away in proportion as the people of civilized states come to settle among them. Unable to submit to the labour of cultivation, and failing of their usual subsistence from the chase, they are reduced to the necessity of abandoning all those tracts of land which industry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the case with all the natives bordering on the European settlements. They keep daily retiring further into the woods; they fall back upon the Assenipouals and Hudson's bay, where they must necessarily encroach upon each other, and in a short time must perish for want of subsistence.

But before this total destruction is brought about, events of a very serious nature may occur. We have not yet forgot the generous Pondiack. That formidable warrior had broken with the British in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, sent him a present of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were standing round their chief, shuddered at the sight of this liquor. Not doubting that it was poisoned, they insisted that he should not accept so suspicious a present. "How can it be," said their leader, "that a man, who knows my esteem for him, and the signal services I have done him, should entertain a thought of taking away my life?" Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the most renowned hero of antiquity.

By many instances of magnanimity similar to this, the eyes of the savage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack.

Pondiack. His design was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independence. Several unfortunate circumstances concurred to defeat this grand project ; but it may be resumed, and it is not impossible but it may succeed. Should this be the case, the English will be under a necessity of protecting their frontier against an enemy, that hath none of those expences to sustain, or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations ; and will find the advantages they have promised themselves from conquests made at the expence of so much treasure and so much blood, considerably retarded, at least, if not entirely cut off.

BOOK

B O O K. III.

OF CANADA, ACQUIRED FROM THE
FRENCH.

C H A P. I.

Face of the country. Climate. Government, customs, virtues, and vices, of the Indians.

THE unbounded space that opened itself to the view of the first settlers, discovered only dark, thick, and deep forests, whose height alone was a proof of their antiquity. Numberless large rivers came down from a considerable distance to water these immense regions. The intervals between them were full of lakes. Four of these measured from two to five hundred leagues round. These sort of inland seas communicated with each other; and their waters, after forming the great river St Lawrence, considerably increased the bed of the ocean. Every thing in this rude part of the new world appeared grand and sublime. Nature here displayed such luxuriance and majesty as commanded veneration; and a thousand wild graces, far superior to the artificial beauties of our climates. Here the imagination of a painter or a poet would have been raised, animated, and filled with those ideas which leave a lasting impression on the mind. All these countries exhaled an air fit to prolong life. This temperature, which from the position of the climate must have been extremely pleasant, lost nothing of its wholesomeness by the singular severity of a long and intense winter. Those who impute this singularity merely to the woods, springs, and mountains, with which this country abounds, have not taken every thing into consideration. Others add to these causes of the cold, the elevation of the

the land, a pure aerial atmosphere seldom loaded with vapours, and the direction of the winds which blow from north to south over frozen seas.

Yet the inhabitants of this sharp climate were but thinly clad. A cloak of buffalo or beaver skin, bound with a leathern girdle, and stockings made of roe buck skin, was the whole of their dress before their intercourse with us. What they have added since, gives great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners.

Few of these savages knew any thing of husbandry: they only cultivated maize; and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being beneath the dignity of independent men. Their bitterest imprecation against an enemy was, that he might be reduced to till the ground. Sometimes they would condescend to go a-fishing; but the employment of their life and their glory was hunting. For this purpose the whole nation went out as they did to war; every family, every hut, marched in search of sustenance. They prepared for the expedition by severe fasting, and never stirred out till they had implored the assistance of their god; they did not pray for strength to kill the beasts, but that they might be so fortunate as to meet with them. No persons staid at home, except infirm and old men; all the rest sallied forth, the men to kill the game, and the women to dry and bring it home. They imagined that the winter was the finest season of the year: the bear, the roe-buck, the stag, and the elk, could not then run with any degree of swiftness through snow that was four or five feet deep on the ground. The savages, who were stopt neither by the bushes, the torrents, the ponds, nor the rivers, and who could out-run most of the swifter animals, were seldom unsuccessful in the chase. When they failed in their sport, they lived upon acorns; and for want of these, they fed upon the sap or inner skin that grows between the wood and the bark of the aspen-tree and the birch.

In the interval between their hunting parties, they made or mended their bows and arrows, the rackets for running upon the snow, and the canoes for crossing the lakes and rivers. These travelling implements, and a few earthen pots, were all the arts of these wandering nations. Those among them who were collected in towns, added to these the labours requisite for their sedentary way of life, for the fencing of their huts, and securing them from being attacked. The savages then gave themselves up to a total inaction, in the most profound security. This people, content with their lot, and satisfied with what nature afforded them, were unacquainted with that restlessness which arises from a sense of our own weakness, that loathing of ourselves and every thing about us, that necessity of flying from solitude, and easing ourselves of the burden of life by throwing it upon others.

Their stature in general was beautifully proportioned; but they had more agility than strength, and were better calculated for swiftness than hard labour. Their features were regular, with that fierce countenance which they contracted in war and hunting. Their complexion was copper-colour; and they had it from nature, which tans all men who are constantly exposed to the open air. This complexion was rendered still more disagreeable by the absurd custom that all savages have of painting their bodies and faces, either to distinguish each other at a distance, or to make themselves more agreeable to their mistresses, or more formidable in war. Besides this varnish, they rubbed themselves with the fat of quadrupeds, or the oil of fish, which prevented the intolerable stings of gnats and insects that swarm in uncultivated countries. These ointments were prepared and mixed up with certain red juices which were supposed to be a deadly poison to the mosquitoes. To these several methods of anointing themselves, which penetrate and discolour the skin, may be added the fumigations they made in their huts to keep

keep off those insects, and the smoke of the fires they kept all winter to warm themselves and to dry their meat. This was sufficient to make them appear frightful to our people, though they undoubtedly imagined that it added to their beauty. Their sight, smell, and hearing, and all their senses, were remarkably quick, and gave them early notice of their dangers and wants. These were few, but their sicknesses were still fewer. They hardly knew of any but what were occasioned by too violent exercise, or eating too much after long abstinence.

Their population was but moderate; and possibly this might be an advantage to them. Polished nations must wish for an increase of population; because, as they are governed by ambitious rulers, the more inclined to war from not being personally engaged in it, they are under a necessity of fighting, either to invade or repulse their neighbours; and because they never have a sufficient extent of territory to satisfy their enterprising and expensive way of living. But unconnected nations, who are always wandering, and guarded by the deserts which divide them; who can fly when they are attacked, and whose poverty preserves them from committing or suffering any injustice; such savage nations had no occasion to multiply. If they are but able to resist the wild beasts, occasionally to drive away an insignificant enemy, and mutually to assist each other, nothing more is required. If they were more populous, they would the sooner have exhausted the countries they inhabit, and be forced to remove in search of others; the only, or at least the greatest, misfortune attending their precarious way of life.

Independent of these reflections, which, possibly, did not occur so strongly to the savages of Canada, the nature of things was alone sufficient to check their increase. Tho' they lived in a country abounding in game and fish, yet in some seasons, and sometimes for whole years, this single resource failed them: and famine then made a dreadful havock among people

ple who were at too great a distance to assist each other. Their wars or transient hostilities, the result of old animosities, were very destructive. Men constantly accustomed to hunt their prey, to tear in pieces the animal they had overtaken, to hear the cries of death, and see the shedding of blood, must have been still more unmerciful in war, if possible, than our own people. In a word, notwithstanding all that has been said in favour of inuring children to hardships, and which misled Peter the Great to such a degree, that he ordered that none of his sailors children should drink any thing but sea water; an experiment which proved fatal to all who tried it; it is certain, that a great many young savages perished thro' hunger, thirst, cold, and fatigue. Even those whose constitution was strong enough to bear the usual exercises of those climates, to swim over the broadest rivers, to go two hundred leagues on a hunting party, to live many days without sleep, to subsist a considerable time without any food; such men must have been exhausted, and totally unfit for the purposes of generation. Few lived so long as our people, who lead a more uniform and quiet life.

The austerity of a Spartan education, the custom of inuring children to hard labour and coarse food, has been productive of dangerous mistakes. Philosophers, desirous of alleviating the miseries incident to mankind, have endeavoured to comfort the wretched who have been doomed to a life of hardships, by persuading them that it was the most wholesome and the best. The rich have eagerly adopted a system, which hardened their hearts against the sufferings of the poor, and excused them from the duties of humanity and compassion. But it is a mistake to imagine that men who are employed in the more laborious arts of society, should live as long as those who enjoy the fruit of their toil. Moderate labour strengthens the human frame, excessive labour impairs it. A peasant is an old man at sixty; whilst the inhabitants of towns, who live in affluence and
with

with some degree of moderation, frequently attain to fourscore and upwards. Even men of letters, whose employments are by no means conducive to health, afford many instances of longevity. Let not our modern productions propagate this false and cruel error, and encourage the rich to disregard the groans of the poor, and transfer all their sensibility from their vassals to their dogs and horses.

Three original languages were spoken in Canada; the Algonquin, the Sioux, and the Huron. They were considered as primitive languages, because each of them contained many of those imitative words, which convey an idea of things by the sound. The dialects derived from them were nearly as many as their towns. No abstruse terms were found in those languages, because the infant mind of the savages seldom goes beyond the present object and the present time; and as they have but few ideas, they seldom need to represent several under one and the same sign. Besides, the language of these people, generally arising from a quick, single, and strong sensation, excited by the great scenes of nature, contracted a lively and poetical cast in their strong and active imagination. The astonishment and admiration which their very ignorance excited, gave them a strong propensity to exaggeration. Their soul expressed what their eyes saw; their language painted, as it were, natural objects in strong colouring, and their discourses were quiet picturesque. For want of terms agreed upon to denote certain compound ideas, they made use of figurative expressions. What was still wanting in speech, they supplied by their gestures, their attitudes, their bodily motions, and the modulations of the voice. The boldest metaphors were more familiar to them in common conversation, than they are even in epic poetry in the European languages. Their speeches in public assemblies, especially, were full of images, energy, and pathos. No Greek or Roman orator ever spoke, perhaps, with more strength and sublimity than one

of their chiefs. Our people wanted to persuade them to remove at a distance from their native soil. *We were born, said he, on this ground, our fathers lie buried in it. Shall we say to the bones of our fathers, Arise, and come with us into a foreign land?*

It may easily be imagined that such nations could not be so gentle nor so weak as those of South America. They shewed that they had that activity and energy which are always found in the northern nations, unless, like the Laplanders, they are of a different species from ourselves. They had but just attained to that degree of knowledge and civilization, to which instinct alone may lead men in the space of a few years; and it is among such people that a philosopher may study man in his natural state.

They were divided into several small nations, whose form of government was nearly similar. Some had hereditary chiefs; others elected them; the greater part were only directed by their old men. They were mere associations, formed by chance, and always free; united, indeed, but bound by no tie. The will of individuals was not even over-ruled by the general one. All decisions were considered only as matter of advice, which was not binding, or enforced by any penalty. If, in one of these singular republics, a man was condemned to death, it was rather a kind of war against a common enemy, than an act of justice exercised against a subject. Instead of coercive power; good manners, example, education, a respect for old men, and parental affection, maintained peace in those societies, that had neither laws nor property. Reason, which had not been misled by prejudice or corrupted by passion, as it is with us, served them instead of moral precepts and regulations of police. Harmony and security were maintained without the interposition of government. Authority never incroached upon that powerful instinct of nature, the love of independence, which enlightened by reason produces in us the love of equality.

Hence

Hence arises that regard which the savages have for each other. They lavish their expressions of esteem, and expect the same in return. They are obliging, but reserved; they weigh their words, and listen with great attention. Their gravity, which looks like a kind of melancholy, is particularly observable in their national assemblies. Every one speaks in his turn, according to his age, his experience, and his services. No one is ever interrupted, either by indecent reflections, or ill-timed applause. Their public affairs are managed with such disinterestedness as is unknown in our governments, where the welfare of the state is hardly ever promoted but from selfish views, or party spirit. It is no uncommon thing to hear one of these savage orators, when his speech has met with universal applause, telling those who agreed to his opinion, that another man is more deserving of their confidence.

This mutual respect amongst the inhabitants of the same place prevails between the several nations, when they are not in actual war. The deputies are received and treated with that friendship which is due to men who come to treat of peace and alliance. Wandering nations, who have not the least notion of a domain, never negotiate for a project of conquest, or for any interests relative to dominion. Even those who have a settled home, never quarrel with others for coming to live in their district, provided they do not molest them. The earth, say they, is made for all men; no one must possess the share of two. All the politics, therefore, of the savages consist in forming leagues against an enemy who is too numerous or too strong, and in suspending hostilities that become too destructive. When they are agreed upon a truce or league of amity, it is ratified by mutually exchanging a belt or string of beads, which are a kind of snail-shells. The white ones are very common; but the purple ones, which are scarcer, and the black, which are still more so, are much esteemed. They work them into a cylindrical form,

form, bore them, and then make them up into branches or necklaces. The branches are about a foot long; and the beads are strung upon them in straight rows. The necklaces are broad belts, on which the beads are placed in rows, and neatly tacked down with little slips of leather. The measure, weight, and colour of the shells, determine the importance of the business. They serve as jewels, as records, and as annals. They are the bond of union between nations and individuals. They are the sacred and inviolable pledge which gives a sanction to words, to promises, and to treaties. The chiefs of towns are the keepers of these records. They know their meaning; they interpret them; and by means of these signs, they transmit the history of the country to their young people.

As the savages possess no riches, they are of a benevolent turn. A striking instance of this appears in the care they take of their orphans, widows, and infirm people. They liberally share their scanty provision with those whose crops have failed, or who have been unsuccessful in hunting or fishing. Their tables and their huts are open night and day to strangers and travellers. This generous hospitality, which makes the advantages of a private man a public blessing, is chiefly conspicuous in their entertainments. A savage claims respect, not so much from what he possesses as from what he gives away. Accordingly the whole provision of a six months chase is often expended in one day, and he who treats enjoys more pleasure than his guests.

None of the writers who have described the manners of the savages have reckoned benevolence amongst their virtues. But this may be owing to prejudice, which has made them confound antipathy and resentment with natural temper. These people neither love nor esteem the Europeans, nor are they very kind to them. The inequality of conditions, which we think so necessary for the well-being of society, is in their opinion the greatest folly. They are shocked

to see, that, amongst us, one man has more property than several others put together ; and that this first injustice is productive of a second, which is, that the man who has most riches is on that account the most respected. But what appears to them a meanness below that of the brute creation is, that men who are equal by nature should stoop to depend upon the will or the caprice of another. The respect we show to titles, dignities, and especially to hereditary nobility, they call an insult, an injury to human nature. Whoever knows how to guide a canoe, to beat an enemy, to build a hut, to live upon little, to go a hundred leagues in the woods, with no other guide than the wind and sun, or any provision but a bow and arrows ; he is a man, and what more can be expected of him ? That restless disposition which prompts us to cross so many seas, to seek a fortune that flies before us, appears to them rather the effect of poverty than of industry. They laugh at our arts, our manners, and all those customs which inspire us with vanity in proportion as they remove us from the state of nature. Their frankness and honesty is roused to indignation at the tricks and cunning which have been practised in our dealings with them. A multitude of other motives, some founded on prejudice, but most on reason, have rendered the Europeans odious to the Indians. They have used reprisals, and are become harsh and cruel in their dealings with us. That aversion and contempt they have conceived for our morals, has always made them shun our society. We have never been able to reconcile any of them to the indulgences of our way of life ; whereas we have seen some Europeans forego all the conveniences of civil life, go into the forests, and take up the bow and the club of the savage. An innate spirit of benevolence, however, sometimes brings them back to us. At the beginning of the winter, a French vessel was wrecked upon the rocks of Anticosti. Such of the sailors as had escaped, in this desert, and savage island, the rigour of the season and the

the dangers of famine, constructed, from the remains of their ship, a bark, which in the spring season conveyed them to the continent. They were observed in a languid and expiring state by a canoe full of savages. *Brethren*, said the chief of this solitary family, addressing himself affectionately to them, *the wretched are entitled to our pity and our assistance. We are men, and the misfortunes incident to the human race affect us as much in others as in ourselves.* These humane expressions were accompanied with every kind of help these generous savages had it in their power to bestow.

One thing was wanting to complete the happiness of the free Americans; they were not passionately fond of their wives. Nature indeed has bestowed on their women a good shape, beautiful eyes, pleasing features, and long black hair. All these accomplishments are no longer regarded than whilst they are in a state of independence. They no sooner submit to the matrimonial yoke, but that even their husband, who is the only man they love, grows insensible to those charms they are so liberal of before marriage. Indeed, they are doomed to a way of life that is not favourable to beauty. Their features alter, and they lose at once the desire and the power of pleasing. They are laborious, indefatigable, and active. They dig the ground, sow, and reap; whilst their husbands, who disdain to stoop to the drudgeries of husbandry, amuse themselves with hunting, fishing, shooting with a bow, and exercising the dominion of man over the earth.

Many of these nations allow a plurality of wives; and even those that do not practise polygamy, admit of divorce. The very idea of an indissoluble tie never once entered the thoughts of these people who are free till death. When those who are married disagree, they part by consent, and divide their children between them. Nothing appears to them more repugnant to nature and reason than the contrary system which prevails among Christians. *The great spirit,*

spirit, say they, hath created us all to be happy; and we should offend him, were we to live in a perpetual state of constraint and uneasiness. This system agrees with what one of the Miamis said to one of our missionaries: My wife and I were continually at variance: My neighbour disagreed equally with his. We have changed wives, and are all satisfied.

It has been generally said, that the savages are not much addicted to the pleasures of love. But if they are not so fond of women as civilized people are, it is not, perhaps, for want of powers or inclination to population. But the first wants of nature may, perhaps, check in them the claims of the second. Their strength is almost all exhausted in procuring their food. Hunting and other expeditions leave them neither the opportunity nor the leisure of attending to population. No wandering nation can ever be populous. What must become of women obliged to follow their husbands to the distance of a hundred leagues, with children at their breast or in their arms? What would become of the children themselves if deprived of the milk that must necessarily dry up in the course of the journey? Hunting, then, prevents the increase of mankind, and even destroys it. A savage warrior resists the seducing arts of young woman who strive to allure him. When nature compels this tender sex to make the first advances, and to pursue the men that fly them, those who are less inflamed with military ardour, than with the charms of beauty, yield to the temptation. But the true warriors who have been early taught that an intercourse with women enervates strength and courage, do not give way. Canada, therefore, is not a desert from natural defects, but from the tract of life which its inhabitants pursue. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their strength is employed for their own preservation. Hunger does not allow them to attend to the softer passions. If the people of the south sacrifice every thing to this desire, it is because the first is easily satisfied. In a country where nature is very prolific, and man consumes

sumes but little, the overplus of his strength is turned wholly to population, which is likewise assisted by the warmth of the climate. In a climate where men consume more than nature affords them with ease, the time and the faculties of the human species are exhausted in fatigues that are detrimental to population.

But a farther proof that the savages are not less inclined to women than we are, is, that they are much fonder of their children. Their mothers suckle them till they are four or five years old, and sometimes to six or seven. From their earliest infancy, their parents respect their natural independence, and never beat or chide them, because they will not check that free and martial spirit which is one day to constitute their principal character. They even forbear to make use of strong arguments to persuade them, because this would be in some measure a restraint laid upon their free will. As they are taught nothing but what they want to know, they are the happiest children upon earth. If they die, the parents lament them with deep regret. The father and mother will sometimes go six months after, and weep over the grave of their child, and the mother will sprinkle it with her own milk.

The ties of friendship amongst the savages are almost as strong as those of nature, and more lasting. These are never broken by that variety of clashing interests, which, in our societies, weaken even the tenderest and most sacred connections. There the heart of one man chuses another, in which he deposits his inmost thoughts, his sentiments, his projects, his sorrows, and his joys. Every thing becomes common between two friends. Their union is for life: they fight side by side; and if one falls, the other constantly dies upon his friend's body. If they are separated in some imminent danger, each calls upon the name of his friend; each invokes his spirit, this is his tutelar deity.

The savages shew a degree of penetration and sagacity, which astonishes every one who has not observed

served how much our arts and methods of life contribute to render our minds slow and inactive; because we are seldom put to the trouble of thinking, and have only to learn what is already discovered. If they have brought nothing to perfection any more than the most sagacious animals, it is, probably, because these people, having no ideas but such as relate to the present wants, the equality that subsists between them lays every individual under a necessity of thinking for himself, and of spending his whole life in acquiring this occasional learning: hence it may be reasonably inferred, that the sum total of ideas in a society of savages is no more than the sum of ideas of each individual.

Instead of abstruse meditations, the savages delight in songs. They are said to have no variety in their singing; but we are uncertain whether those that have heard them had an ear properly adapted to their music. When we first hear a foreign language, the words seem all the same, we think it is all pronounced with the same tone, without any modulation or prosody. It is only by continued habit that we learn to distinguish the words and syllables, and to perceive that some are dull and others sharp, some long and others short. The same may be equally true with regard to the melody of a people, whose song must bear some analogy to their speech.

Their dances are generally an image of war, and they usually dance completely armed. They are so exact, quick, and dreadful, that an European, when first he sees them, cannot help being struck with horror. He imagines that the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and scattered limbs, and that none of the dancers or the spectators will remain. It is some what remarkable, that in the first ages of the world, and amongst savage nations, dancing should be an imitative art; and that it should have lost that characteristic in civilized countries, where it seems to be reduced to a set of steps without meaning. But it is with dances as with lan-
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guages, they grow abstracted like the ideas they are intended to represent. The signs of them are more allegorical, as the minds of the people become more refined. In the same manner as a single word, in a learned language, expresses several ideas; so, in an allegorical dance, a single step, a single attitude is sufficient to excite a variety of sensations. It is owing to want of imagination either in the dancers, or the spectators, if a figured dance is not, or does not appear to be, expressive. Besides, the savages can exhibit none but strong passions and fierce manners; and these must be represented by more significant images in their dances, which are the language of gesture, the first and simplest of all languages. Nations living in a state of civil society, and in peace, have only the gentler passions to represent; which are best expressed by delicate images, fit to convey refined ideas. It might not, however, be improper sometimes to bring back dancing to its first origin, to exhibit the old simplicity of manners, to revive the first sensations of nature by motions which represent them, and to depart from the antiquated and scientific mode of the Greeks and Romans, and adopt the lively and significant images of the rude Canadians.

These savages, always wholly taken up with the present passion, are extravagantly fond of gaming, as is usual with all idle people, and especially of games of chance. These men, who are commonly so sedate, so moderate, so disinterested, and have such a command of themselves, are outrageous, greedy, and turbulent at play; they lose their peace, their senses, and all they are worth. Destitute of almost every thing, coveting all they see, and, when they like it, eager to have and enjoy it, they give themselves up entirely to the quickest and easiest means of acquiring it. This is a consequence of their manners, as well as of their character. The sight of present happiness always blinds them as to the evils that may ensue. Their forecast does not even reach from day to night. They are alternately silly children and terrible men. All depends with them on the present moment.

Gaming

Gaming alone would incline them to superstition, even if they had not a natural propensity to that bane of the happiness of mankind. But as they have few physicians or quacks to have recourse to, they suffer less from this malady than more polished nations, and are more open to the voice of reason. The Iroquois have a confused notion of a First Being who governs the world. They never grieve at the evil which this being permits. When some mischance befalls them, they say, *The man above would have it so*; and there is, perhaps, more philosophy in this submission than in all the reasonings and declamations of our philosophers. Most other savage nations worship those two first principles, which occur to the human mind as soon as it has acquired any conception of invisible substances. Sometimes they worship a river, a forest, the sun or the moon; in short, any beings in which they have observed a certain power and motion; because wherever they see motion, which they cannot account for, there they suppose a soul.

They seem to have some notion of a future state; but as they have no principles of morality, they do not think that the next life is a state of reward for virtue and punishment for vice. Their opinion of it consists in believing, that the indefatigable huntsman, and the fearless and merciless warrior, the man who has slain or burnt many enemies, and made his own town victorious, will after death go into a country where he will find plenty of all kinds of animals to assuage his hunger; whereas those who are grown old in indolence and without glory, will be for ever banished into a barren land, where they will be eternally tormented with famine and sickness. Their tenets are suited to their manners and their wants. They believe in such pleasures and such sufferings as they are acquainted with. They have more hopes than fears, and are happy even in their delusions. Yet they are often tormented with dreams.

Ignorance is prone to look for something mysterious in dreams, and to ascribe them to the agency of

some powerful being, who takes the opportunity, when our faculties are suspended and lulled asleep, of watching over us in the absence of our senses. It is as it were a soul, distinct from our own, that glides into us, to inform us of what is to come, when we cannot yet see it; whereas futurity is always present to that Being who created it.

In the sharp climates of Canada, where the people live by hunting, their nerves are apt to be overstrained by the inclemency of the weather, and by fatigue and long abstinence. When these savages have melancholy and troublesome dreams, they fancy they are surrounded with enemies; they see their town surprised, and swimming in blood; they receive injuries and wounds; their wives, their children, their friends, are carried off. When they awake, they take these visions for a warning from the gods; and that fear which first inspired them with this notion, makes them look more fierce and gloomy. The old women, who are useless in the world, dream for the safety of the commonwealth. Some weak old men, too, dream on public affairs, in which they have no share or influence. Young men who are unfit for war or laborious exercises, will dream too, that they may bear some part in the administration, of the clan. In vain hath it been attempted, during two centuries, to dispel illusions so deeply rooted. *You Christians, have always answered the savages, you laugh at the faith we have in dreams, and yet require us to believe things infinitely more improbable.* Thus we see in these untutored nations the seeds of priestcraft with all its train of evils.

Were it not for these melancholy fits and dreams, there would scarce ever be any contentions amongst them. Europeans who have lived long in these countries, assure us they never saw an Indian in a passion. Without superstition, there would be as few national as private quarrels.

Private differences are most commonly adjusted by the bulk of the people. The respect shewn by the nation

nation to the aggrieved party, soothes his self-love, and disposes him to peace. It is more difficult to prevent quarrels, or put an end to hostilities, between two nations.

War often takes its rise from hunting. When two companies, which were separated by a forest a hundred leagues in extent, happen to meet, and to interfere with each other's sport, they soon quarrel, and turn those weapons against one another, which were intended for the destruction of bears. This slight skirmish is a seed of eternal discord. The vanquished party swears implacable vengeance against the conquerors, a national hatred which will live in their posterity, and revive out of their ashes. These quarrels, however, are sometimes stifled in the wounds of both parties, when on each side there happen to be only some fiery youths, who are desirous of trying their skill, and whose impatience has hurried them too far. But the rage of whole nations is not easily kindled.

When there is a cause for war, it is not left to the judgment and decision of one man. The nation meets, and the chief speaks. He states the grievances. The matter is considered, the dangers and the consequences of a rupture are carefully balanced. The speakers enter directly on the subject, without stopping, without digression, or mistaking the case. The several interests are discussed with a strength of reasoning and eloquence that arises from the evidence and simplicity of the objects: and even with an impartiality that is less biassed by their strong passions, than it is with us by a complication of ideas. If they unanimously decide for war by an universal shout, the allies are invited to join them, which they seldom refuse, as they always have some injury to revenge, or some dead to replace by prisoners.

They next proceed to the election of a chief, or captain of the expedition; and great stress is laid upon physiognomy. This might be a fallacious and even ridiculous way of judging of men, where they

have been trained up from their infancy to disguise their real sentiments, and where, by a constant practice of dissimulation and factitious passions, the countenance is no longer expressive of the mind. But a savage, who is solely guided by nature, and is acquainted with its workings, is seldom mistaken in the judgment he forms at first sight. The chief requisite, next to a warlike aspect, is a strong voice; because in armies that march without drums or clarions, the better to surprise the enemy, nothing is so proper to sound an alarm, or to give the signal for the onset, as the terrible voice of a chief who shouts and strikes at the same time. But the best recommendations for a general, are his exploits. Every one is at liberty to boast of his victories, in order to march foremost to meet danger; to tell what he has done, in order to shew what he will do; and the savages think self-commendation not unbecoming a hero who can shew his scars.

He that is to head the rest in the road to victory, never fails to harangue them. "Comrades, (says he), the bones of our brethren are still uncovered. They cry out against us; we must satisfy them. Young men, to arms; fill your quivers; paint yourselves with gloomy colours that may strike terror. Let the woods ring with our warlike songs. Let us soothe the dead with the shouts of vengeance. Let us go and bathe in the blood of our enemies, take prisoners, and fight as long as water shall flow in the rivers, and as long as the sun and moon shall remain fixed in the firmament."

At these words, the brave men who long to encounter the hazards of war, go to the chief, and say, *I will risk with thee. So you shall*, replies the chief, *we will risk together*. But as no one has been solicited, lest a false point of honour should induce cowards to march, a man must undergo many trials before he can be admitted as a soldier. If a young man, who has never yet faced the enemy, should betray the least impatience, when, after long abstinence,

nence, he is exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, the intense frosts of the night, or the bloody stings of insects, he would be declared incapable and unworthy to bear arms. Are our militias and armies formed in this manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and ominous ceremony is ours! Men who have not been able to save themselves, by flight, from being pressed into the service, or could not procure an exemption by purchase or by claiming some privilege, drag themselves heavily along, with down-cast looks, and pale dejected faces, before a delegate, whose functions are odious to the people, and whose honesty is doubtful. The afflicted and trembling parents seem to be following their son to the grave. A black scroll, issuing from a fatal urn, points out the victims which the prince devotes to war. A distracted mother in vain presses her son to her bosom, and strives to detain him; he is torn from her arms, and she bids him farewell for ever, cursing the day of her marriage and that of her delivery. It is not, surely, thus that good soldiers are to be formed. It is not in this mournful way, and with such consternation, that the savages meet victory. They march out in the midst of festivity, singing, and dancing. The young married women follow their husbands for a day or two, but without showing any signs of grief or sorrow. These women, who never once cry out in the pangs of child-birth, would scorn to soften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country, by their tears, or even by their endearments.

Their weapons are a kind of spear armed with sharp bones, and a small club of very hard wood, with one cutting edge. Instead of this last, since their acquaintance with the Europeans, they make use of a hatchet, which they handle with amazing dexterity. Most of them have no instrument of defence; but if they chance to attack the pales that surround a town, they cover their body with a thick plank. Some used to wear a kind of cuirass made with

with plaited reeds ; but they left it off, when they saw it was not proof against fire-arms.

The army is followed by dreamers, who assume the name of jugglers, and are too often suffered to determine the military operations. They march without any colours. All the warriors, who fight almost naked to be the more alert, daub their bodies with coals, to appear more terrible, or else with mould, to conceal themselves at a distance, and the better to surprise the enemy. Notwithstanding their natural intrepidity, and aversion for all disguise, their wars degenerate into artifice. These deceitful arts, common to all nations whether savage or civilized, are become necessary to the petty nations of Canada. They would have totally destroyed one another, had they not made the glory of their chiefs to consist in bringing home all their companions, rather than in shedding the blood of their foes. Honour, therefore, is to be gained by falling upon the enemy before he is aware. These people, whose senses have never been impaired, are extremely quick-scented, and can discover the places where men have trod. By the keenness of their sight or smell, it is said they can trace footsteps upon the shortest grass, upon the dry ground, and even upon stone ; and from the nature of the footsteps, can find out what nation they belong to. Perhaps they may discover this by the leaves with which the forests always strew the ground.

When they are so fortunate as to surprise the enemy, they discharge a whole volley of arrows, and fall upon him with their clubs or hatchets in their hands. If he is upon his guard, or too well intrenched, they retreat if they can ; if not, they must fight till they conquer or die. The victorious party dispatch the wounded men whom they could not carry away, scalp the dead, and take some prisoners.

The conqueror leaves his hatchet upon the field of battle, having previously engraved upon it the mark of his nation, that of his family, and especially his own.

own picture ; that is to say, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all these en- signs of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the stump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with several colours. To this they add the history, not only of the battle, but of the whole campaign, in hieroglyphic characters. Immediately after the general's picture, are those of his soldiers, marked by so many lines ; the number of prisoners pointed out by so many little images, and that of the dead by so many human figures without heads. Such are the expressive and technical signs which, in all original societies, have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and encumber the heads of the learned.

The history of an Indian war is but a short one ; they make haste to set it down, for fear the enemy should turn back and fall upon them. The conqueror glories in a precipitate retreat, and never stops till he reaches his own territory and his own town. There he is received with the warmest transports of joy, and finds his reward in the applauses of his countrymen. They then consider how they shall dispose of the prisoners, who are the only fruit of their victory.

The most fortunate of the captives are those who are chosen to replace the warriors who fell in the late action or in former battles. This adoption has been wisely contrived, to perpetuate nations which would soon be destroyed by frequent wars. The prisoners, being once incorporated into a family, become cousins, uncles, fathers, brothers, husbands : in short, they succeed to any degree of consanguinity in which the deceased stood whose place they supply ; and these affectionate titles convey all their rights to them, at the same time that they bind them to all their engagements. Far from declining the attachments which are due to the family that has adopted them, they will not refuse even to take up arms against their own countrymen. Yet this is surely a
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strange inversion of the ties of nature. They must be very weak-minded men, thus to shift the object of their regard with the vicissitudes of fortune. The truth is, that war seems to cancel all the bonds of nature, and to confine a man's feelings to himself alone. Hence arises that union between friends observable among the savages, stronger than those that subsist between relations. Those who are to fight and die together, are more firmly attached than those who are born together or under the same roof. When war or death has dissolved that kindred which is cemented by nature or has been formed by choice, the same fate which loads the savage with chains gives him new relations and friends. Custom and common consent have introduced this singular law, which undoubtedly sprang from necessity.

But it sometimes happens, that a prisoner refuses this adoption; sometimes, that he is excluded from it. A tall handsome prisoner had lost several of his fingers in battle. This circumstance was not noticed at first. *Friend*, said the widow to whom he was allotted, *we had chosen thee to live with us; but in the condition I see thee, unable to fight and to defend us, of what use is life to thee? Death is certainly preferable. I believe it is*, answered the savage. *Well then*, replied the woman, *this evening thou shalt be tied to the stake. For thy own glory, and for the honour of our family who have adopted thee, remember to behave as a man of courage.* He promised he would, and kept his word. For three days he endured the most cruel torments with a constancy and cheerfulness that set them all at defiance. His new family never forsook him; but encouraged him by their applause, and supplied him with drink and tobacco in the midst of his sufferings. What mixture of virtue and ferocity! every thing is great in these people who are not enslaved. This is the sublime of nature in all its horrors and its beauties.

The captives whom none chuse to adopt, are soon condemned to death. The victims are prepared for
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it by every thing that may tend to inspire them with a regret for life. The best fare, the kindest usage, the most endearing names, are lavished upon them. They are even sometimes indulged with women to the very moment of their sentence. Is this compassion, or is it a refinement of barbarity? At last a herald comes, and acquaints the wretch that the pile is ready. *Brother, says he, be patient, thou art going to be burnt. Very well, brother, says the prisoner, I thank thee.*

These words are received with general applause; but the women are the most eager in the common joy. She to whom the prisoner is delivered up, instantly invokes the shade of a father, a husband, a son, the dearest friend whose death is still unrevenge. *Draw near, she cries, I am preparing a feast for thee. Come and drink large draughts of the broth I intend to give thee. This warrior is going to be put into the cauldron. They will apply hot hatchets all over his body: They will pull off his hair: They will drink out of his skull: Thou shalt be avenged and satisfied.*

This furious woman then rushes upon her victim, who is tied to a post near the fiery pile; and by striking or maiming him, she gives the signal for the intended cruelties. There is not a woman or a child in the clan whom this sight has brought together who does not take a part in the torturing and slaying of the miserable captive. Some pierce his flesh with firebrands, others cut it in slices; some tear off his nails, whilst others cut off his fingers, roast them, and devour them before his face. Nothing stops his executioners but the fear of hastening his end: they study to prolong his sufferings for whole days, and sometimes they make him linger for a whole week.

In the midst of these torments, the hero with great composure sings his death-song; insults his enemies, upbraids them for their weakness, tells them they know not how to revenge the death of their relations whom he has slain, and excites them by outrages or intreaties to a farther exertion of their cruelties. It
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is a conflict between the victim and his tormentors, a dreadful challenge between constancy in suffering and obstinacy in tormenting. But the sense of glory predominates. Whether this intoxication of enthusiasm suspends or wholly benumbs all sense of pain, or whether custom and education alone produce these prodigies of heroism, certain it is, that the patient dies without ever shedding a tear or heaving a sigh.

How shall we account for this insensibility? Is it owing to the climate, or to their manner of life? No doubt, colder blood, thicker humours, a constitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampness of the air and the ground, may blunt the irritability of the nervous system in Canada. Men who are constantly exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, the fatigues of hunting, and the perils of war, contract such a rigidity of the fibres, such a habit of suffering, as makes them insensible to pain. It is said the savages are scarce ever convulsed in the agonies of death, whether they die of sickness or of a wound. As they have no apprehensions either of the approaches or the consequences of death, their imagination does not suggest that artificial sensibility which mere nature will inspire. Their whole life, both natural and moral, is calculated to inspire them with a contempt for death, which we so much dread; and to enable them to overcome the sense of pain, which is irritated by our indulgences.

But what is still more astonishing in the Indians than their intrepidity in torments, is the ferociousness of their revenge. It is dreadful to think that man may become the most cruel of all animals. In general, revenge is not atrocious either among nations or between individuals who are governed by good laws; because those very laws which protect the subjects, keep them from offending. Vengeance is not a very quick sentiment in the wars of great nations, because they have but little to fear from their enemies. But in those petty nations, where every individual constitutes a great part of the state himself, where the

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carrying off of one man endangers the whole community, war can be nothing else than the spirit of revenge that actuates the whole state : amongst independent men who have that self-esteem which can never be felt by men who are under subjection, amongst savages whose affections are very lively and confined, injuries must necessarily be resented to the greatest degree, because they affect the person in the most sensible manner : the assassination of a friend, of a son, of a brother, or of a fellow-citizen, cannot but be avenged to the last drop of the murderer's blood. These ever beloved shades are continually calling out for vengeance from their graves. They wander about in the forests, amidst the mournful accents of the birds of night ; they appear in the phosphorus and in the lightning ; and superstition speaks of them in the afflicted or incensed hearts of their friends.

When we consider the hatred which the hordes of these savages bear to each other ; the hardships they undergo ; the scarcity they are often exposed to ; the frequency of their wars ; the scantiness of their population ; the numberless snares we lay for them ; we cannot but foresee, that, in less than three centuries, the whole race will be extinct. What will posterity then think of this species of men, who will exist no more but in the accounts of travellers ? Will not the times of savages appear to them in the same light as the fabulous times of antiquity do to us ? They will speak of them, as we do of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. How many contradictions shall we not discover in their customs and manners ? Will not such of our writings as may then have escaped the destructive hand of time, pass for romantic inventions, like those which Plato has left us concerning the ancient Atlantica ?

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- C H A P.

C H A P. II.

Wars of the INDIANS. The Colonists embroil themselves therein.

THE character of the North Americans, such as we have described it, had singularly displayed itself in the war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. These two nations, the largest in Canada, had formed a kind of confederacy. The former, who tilled the ground, imparted their productions to their allies; who, in return, shared with them the produce of their chase. Connected as they both were by their reciprocal wants, they mutually defended each other. During the season when the snow interrupted all the labours of the field, they lived together. The Algonquins went out a hunting; and the Iroquois staid at home to skin the beasts, cure the flesh, and dress the hides.

It happened one year, that a party of Algonquins, who were not very skilful or well versed in the chase, proved unsuccessful. The Iroquois who attended them desired leave to try whether they should be more fortunate. This complaisance, which had sometimes been shewn them, was denied. Irritated at this unreasonable refusal, they stole away in the night, and brought home a plentiful capture. The Algonquins were greatly mortified; and to blot out the very remembrance of their disgrace, they waited till the Iroquois huntsmen were asleep, and slew them all. This massacre occasioned a great alarm. The offended nation demanded justice, which was haughtily refused; and they were given to understand that they must not expect even the smallest satisfaction.

The Iroquois, enraged at this contemptuous treatment, swore to be revenged, or perish in the attempt. But not being powerful enough to venture an attack upon the proud offenders, they removed to a greater distance

distance in order to try their strength and improve themselves in the art of war against some less formidable nations: As soon as they had learnt to come on like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they express themselves, they were no longer afraid to encounter the Algonquins; and, therefore, carried on a war against them with a degree of ferociousness proportionable to their resentment.

It was just at the time when these animosities were kindled throughout Canada, that the French made their first appearance there. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St Lawrence; the Algonquins, who lived along the banks of that river, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were dispersed about the lake that bears that name; and some less considerable nations, who wandered about in the intermediate spaces; were all of them inclined to favour the settlement of the strangers. These several nations combined against the Iroquois; but, unable to withstand them, imagined that they might find in their new guests an unexpected resource, from which they promised themselves infallible success. Judging of the French as if they had known them, they flattered themselves they might engage them in their quarrel, and were not disappointed. Champlain, the leader of the first colony, and the founder of Quebec, who ought to have availed himself of the superiority of knowledge the Europeans had over the Americans, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation, did not even attempt it. He warmly espoused the interests of his neighbours, and accompanied them in quest of their enemy.

The country of the Iroquois extended near eighty leagues in length, and somewhat more than forty in breadth. Its boundaries were, the lake Erie, the lake Ontario, the river St Lawrence, and the famous countries since known by the names of New-York and Pennsylvania. The space between these vast limits was watered by several fine rivers. It was inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty

thousand warriors into the field ; though they are now reduced to less than fifteen hundred. They formed a kind of league or association, not unlike that of the Switzers or the Dutch. Their deputies met once a-year, to hold their feast of union, and to deliberate on the interests of the commonwealth.

Though the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies who had so often been conquered, yet they were not unprepared. The engagement was begun with equal confidence on both sides; one part relying on their usual superiority, the other on the assistance of their new ally, whose fire-arms could not fail of insuring the victory. And, indeed, no sooner had Champlain and two Frenchmen who attended him fired a shot, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmost amazement and consternation.

An alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of changing their mode of defence. In the next campaign, they imagined it would be necessary to intrench themselves against weapons they were unacquainted with. But their precaution was ineffectual. Notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, their intrenchments were forced by the Indians, supported by a brisker fire and a greater number of Frenchmen than in the first expedition. The Iroquois were almost all killed or taken. Those who had escaped the action were precipitated into a river and drowned.

It is most probable that this nation would have been destroyed, or compelled to live in peace, had not the Dutch, who in 1610 had founded the colony of new Belgia in their neighbourhood, furnished them with arms and amunition. Possibly, too, they might secretly excite their divisions ; because the furs taken from the enemy, during the continuance of hostilities, were a greater object than those they could procure from their own chase. However this may be, this additional weight restored the balance of strength between

tween both parties. Various hostilities and injuries were committed by each nation, and they were both in consequence of them considerably weakened. This perpetual ebb and flow of success or misfortunes, which, in governments actuated by motives of interest rather than of revenge, would infallibly have restored tranquillity, served but to increase their animosities, and to exasperate a number of little clans, resolved upon destroying one another. The consequence was, that the weakest of these petty nations were soon destroyed, and the rest were gradually reduced to nothing.

C H A P. III.

Of the F U R S.

BEFORE the discovery of Canada, the forests with which it was over-run were little more than the extensive haunt of wild beasts. They had multiplied prodigiously, because the few men who lived in those deserts without flocks or tame animals, left more room and more food for the animal race, wandering and free like themselves. If the nature of the climate did not afford an infinite variety, each species produced at least a multitude of individuals. But they at last paid tribute to the sovereignty of man, that cruel title so fatal to every living creature. Having neither arts nor husbandry to employ them, the savages fed and clothed themselves wholly at the expence of the wild beasts. As soon as our luxury had made us adopt the use of their skins, the natives waged a perpetual war against them ; which was the more active, as it procured them plenty, and a variety of gratifications which their senses were unaccustomed to ; and the more fatal, as they had adopted the use of our fire-arms. This destructive industry brought over from the woods of Canada into the ports of France a great quantity and prodigious variety of furs, some

of which were consumed in the kingdom, and the rest were disposed of in the neighbouring countries. Most of these furs were already known in Europe; they came from the northern parts of our own hemisphere, but in too small quantities to bring them in to general use. Caprice and novelty have brought them more or less into fashion, since it has been found to be for the interest of the American colonies that they should be admired in the mother countries. It may not be improper to say something of those that are still in use.

1. The OTTER is a voracious animal, which, as it runs or swims along the banks of lakes or rivers, commonly lives upon fish; and when that fails, will feed upon grass, and even the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner of living he has been ranked amongst amphibious animals, who can equally live in the air and under water; but improperly, since the otter cannot live without respiration, any more than all other land animals. It is sometimes found in all those parts which abound in water, and are temperate; but is much more common and larger in the northern parts of America. His hair is no where so black or so fine; a circumstance the more fatal to him, as it exposes him more particularly to the pursuits of man.

2. The POLE-CAT is in great request on the same account. There are three sorts of them: the first is the common pole cat; the second is called the mink; and the third the stinking pole cat, because his urine, which he lets fly in his fright when he is pursued, is so offensive that it infects the air at a great distance. Their hair is darker, more glossy, and more silky, than in Europe.

3. Even the RAT in North-America is valuable for his skin. There are two sorts chiefly whose skin makes an article of trade. The one, which is called the *opossum*, is twice as large as ours. His hair is commonly of a silver grey, sometimes of a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which she can open

open and shut at pleasure : when she is pursued, she puts her young ones into this bag, and runs away with them. The other, which is called the *Musk-rat*, because his testicles contain musk, has all the inclinations of the beaver, of which he seems to be a diminutive, and his skin is employed for the same purposes.

4. The *ERMINE*, which is about the size of a squirrel, but not quite so long, has, like him, sprightly eyes, a keen look, and his motions are so quick that the eye cannot follow them. The tip of his long and bushy tail is as black as jet. His hair, which is as yellow as gold in summer, turns as white as snow in winter. This pretty, brisk, and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada ; but though smaller than the *Sable*, is not so common.

5. The *MARTIN* is only to be met with in cold countries, in the centre of the forests, far from all habitations, and lives upon birds. Though it is but a foot and a half long, it leaves prints on the snow, that appear to be those of a very large animal ; because it always jumps along, and leaves the mark of both feet together. Its brown and yellow fur is much esteemed, though far inferior to that species which is distinguished by the name of the *Sable*. This is a shining black. The finest of the others is that whose brownest skin reaches along the back quite to the tip of the tail. The Martin seldom quit the inmost recesses of their impenetrable woods, but once in two or three years. The natives think it portends a good winter ; that is, a great deal of snow, and consequently good sport.

6. The animal which the ancients called *Lynx*, known in Siberia by the name of the *Ounce*, is only called the *WILD CAT* in Canada, where it is smaller than in our hemisphere. This animal, to whom vulgar error would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if he were not endowed with the faculty of seeing, hearing, and smelling, at a distance, lives upon what game he can catch, which he pursues to the very tops of the tallest trees. His flesh is known to
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be very white and well flavoured ; but he is hunted chiefly for the sake of his skin : the hair of which is very long, and of a fine light grey ; but less esteemed than that of

7. The Fox. This carnivorous and mischievous animal is a native of the frozen climates, where nature affording few vegetables seems to oblige all animals to eat one another. In warmer climates, he has lost much of his original beauty, and his hair has degenerated. In the north it has remained long, soft, and full, sometimes white, sometimes brown, and often red or sandy. The finest by far is black ; but this is more scarce in Canada than in Muscovy, which lies further north, and is not so damp.

8. Besides these smaller furs, North-America supplies us with skins of the *Stag*, the *Deer*, and the *Roe-buck* ; of the *Moose deer*, called there CARIBOU ; and of the *Elk*, which they call ORIGINAL. These two last kinds, which in our hemisphere are only found towards the polar circle, the elk on this side, and the moose-deer beyond, are to be met with in America in more southern latitudes. This may be owing to the cold being more intense in America, from singular causes which make an exception to the general law ; or, possibly, because these fresh lands are less frequented by destructive man. Their strong, soft, and warm skins make excellent garments, which are very light. All these animals, however, are hunted for the Europeans ; but the savages have the chase that belongs to them, and is peculiarly their favourite. It is that of

9. The BEAR ; which is best adapted to their warlike manners, their strength, and their bravery, and especially to their wants.

In a cold and severe climate, the bear is most commonly black. As he is rather shy than fierce, instead of a cavern, he chuses for his lurking place the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he takes his lodgement in winter, as high as he can climb. As he is very fat at the end of autumn, takes no exercise,

cise, and is almost always asleep, he must lose but little by perspiration, and consequently must seldom want to go abroad in quest of food. But he is forced out of his retreat by setting fire to it; and as soon as he attempts to come down, he falls under a shower of arrows before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his flesh, rub themselves with his grease, and clothe themselves with his skin. Such was the intent of their pursuit after the bear, when a new interest directed their instinct towards

10. The BEAVER. This animal possesses all the friendly dispositions fit for society, without any of the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for social life, he is endued with an instinct adapted to it for the preservation and propagation of his species. This animal, whose tender plaintive accents, and whose striking example, draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philosopher who contemplates his life and manners; this harmless animal, which never hurts any living creature, and is neither carnivorous nor sanguinary; is become the object of man's most earnest pursuit, and the prey which the savages hunt after with the greatest eagerness and cruelty: a circumstance owing to the unmerciful rapaciousness of the most polished nations in Europe.

The beaver is about three or four feet long; but his weight amounts to forty or sixty pounds, which is the consequence of the largeness of his muscles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a rat; and his back, raised in an arch above it, like that of a mouse. Lucretius has observed, not that man has hands given him to make use of them; but that he had hands given him, and has made use of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he swims with them. The toes of his fore-feet are separate, and answer the purpose of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with scales, he uses by way of a hoe and trowel; he has four sharp incisor-teeth, which serve him instead of carpenter's tools. All these instruments, which are in a manner
useless

useless whilst he lives alone, and do not then distinguish him from other animals, are of infinite service when he lives in society, and enable him to display a degree of ingenuity superior to all instinct.

Without passions, without a desire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in society; he scarcely ventures to defend himself. He never bites, unless he is caught. But in the social state, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to secure himself without fighting, and to live without committing or suffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheless independent; he is a slave to none, because all his wants are supplied by himself: he enters into society; but will not serve, nor does he pretend to command; and all his labours are directed by a silent instinct.

It is the common want of living and multiplying that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in summer to build their towns against winter. As early as June or July, they come in from all quarters, and assemble to the number of two or three hundred; but always by the water side, because these republicans are to live on the water to secure themselves from invasion. Sometimes they give the preference to still lakes in unfrequented districts, because there the waters are always at an equal height. When they find no pools of standing water, they make one in the midst of rivers or streams; which they do by means of a causeway or dam. The mere planning of this contrivance implies such a complication of ideas, as our short-sighted reason would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The first thing to be erected is a pile an hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the basis, which shelves away to two or three feet in a slope answerable to the depth of the waters. To save work, or to facilitate their labour, they chuse the shallowest part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-side, they fell it in such a manner as it may fall across the stream. If it should

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be larger in circumference than a man's body, they saw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four sharp teeth. The branches are soon lopped off by these industrious work-men, who want to fashion it into a beam. A multitude of lesser trees are felled and cut to pieces for the intended pile. Some drag these trees to the river side, others swim over with them to the place where the causeway is to be raised. But the question is, how these animals are to sink them in the water with the assistance only of their teeth, a tail, and feet. The following is the manner in which they contrive it. With their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water. With their teeth they rest the large end of the stake against the bank of the river, or against the great beam that lies across. With their feet they raise the stake, and sink it with the sharp end downwards into the hole, where it stands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the stakes, which are bound together with twisted boughs; and thus the pile is constructed. The slope of the dam is opposite to the current, the better to break the force of the water by a gradual resistance; and the stakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The stakes are planted perpendicularly on the side where the water is to fall; and in order to open a drain which may lessen the action of the slope and weight of the causeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the waters of the river may run off.

When this work is finished by the whole body of the republic, every member considers of a lodging for himself. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. These huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round spot. Some are two or three stories high, according to the number of families or households. Each hut contains at least two or three, and some ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick;
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and are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and solid both within and without. The outside is varnished with a kind of stucco, impenetrable both to the water and to the external air. Every apartment has two openings, one on the land side, to enable them to go out and fetch provisions; the other on that next the stream, to facilitate their escape at the approach of the enemy, that is, of man, the destroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the house opens to the water. There they take the fresh air in the day time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it serves to fence them against the ice, which gathers to the thickness of two or three feet. The shelf, which is to prevent its stopping up this window, rests upon two stakes that slope in such a manner as may best carry off the water from the house, and leave an outlet to creep out at, or to go and swim under the ice. The inside of the house has no other furniture than a flooring of grass, covered with the boughs of the fir-tree. No filth of any kind is ever seen in these apartments.

The materials for these buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. These are alders, poplars, and other trees delighting in watery places, as these republicans do who build their apartments of them. These citizens have the satisfaction, at the same time that they fashion the wood, to nourish themselves with it. In imitation of certain savages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The savages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded, and properly dressed; whereas the beavers chew it and suck it when it is quite green. They lay up a provision of bark and tender twigs in separate storehouses for every hut, proportionable to the number of its inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own storehouse, and not one of them pilfers his neighbour's. Each party lives in its own habitation, and is contented with it, though jealous of the property it has acquired in it by its labour. The provisions of the community are collected and expended without dissensions.

sentions. They are satisfied with that simple food which their labour prepares for them. The only passion they have is that of conjugal affection, the basis and end of which is the reproduction of their species. Towards the end of winter, the mothers bring forth their young ones, bred in autumn; and whilst the father ranges all the woods, allured by the sweets of the spring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the dam suckles and nurses them, to the number of two or three. Then she takes them out along with her in her excursions, in search of cray and other fish, and green bark, to recruit her own strength and to feed them, till the season of labour returns.

This republican, industrious, intelligent people, skilled in architecture, provident and systematical in its plans of police and society, is the beaver, whose gentle and exemplary manners we have been describing. Happy if his covering did not tempt merciless and savage man to destroy his buildings and his race. Frequently, when the Americans have demolished the settlements of the beavers, those indefatigable animals have had the resolution to build them up again, for several summers successively, upon the very same spot. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience warns them of their danger. At the approach of the huntsmen, one of them strikes a hard stroke with his tail upon the water; this signal spreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to save himself under the ice. But it is very difficult to escape all the snares that are laid for this harmless tribe.

Sometimes the huntsmen lie in wait for them; but as these animals see and hear at a great distance, they can seldom be shot by the water-side, and they never venture so far from it as to be caught by surprise. Should the beaver be wounded before he has got under water, he has always time enough to plunge in; and if he dies afterwards, he is lost, because he sinks, and never rises again.

A more certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat tender bark of young trees. These traps are baited with fresh slips of wood; and as soon as the beavers touch them, an enormous weight falls and crushes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, hastens to it, seizes his prey, and having dispatched it, carries it off.

Other methods are still more commonly and more successfully practised. The huts are sometimes attacked, in order to drive out the inhabitants, and then wait for them at the edges of the holes they have bored in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in fresh air. The moment they appear, they are knocked on the head. At other times the animal, driven out of his lodgement, is entangled in the nets that are spread all round, by breaking up the ice for some toises round his hut. If they want to catch the whole colony at once, instead of breaking down the sluices to drown the inhabitants, as it might be done in Holland, they open the causeway, to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceless, and unable to escape, they may be caught at pleasure and destroyed at any time: but care is always taken to leave a sufficient number of males and females to preserve the breed; an act of generosity which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel foresight of man only spares a few in order to have the more to destroy. The beaver, whose plaintive cry seems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the savage, whom the Europeans have made barbarous, only an implacable enemy, who no longer fights so much to supply his own wants, as to furnish superfluities to another world.

If we compare the manners, the police, and the industry, of the beavers with the wandering life of the savages of Canada; we shall be inclined to allow, admitting for the superiority of man's faculties above those of animals, that the beaver was much further advanced

advanced in the arts of social life than his pursuer, when the Europeans first brought their talents and improvements to North-America.

The beaver, an older inhabitant of that world than man, and the quiet possessor of those regions so well adapted to his species, had employed that quiet he had enjoyed for many ages, in the improvement of his faculties. In our hemisphere, man has seized upon the most wholesome and fertile regions, and has driven out or subdued all other animals. If the bee and the ant have preserved their laws and government from the jealous and destructive dominion of tyrant man, this has been owing to the smallness of their size. It is thus we see some republics, having neither splendor nor strength, maintain themselves by their very weakness, in the midst of the vast monarchies of Europe, which must sooner or later swallow them up. But the sociable quadrupeds, banished into uninhabited climates unfit for their increase, have been unconnected in all places, incapable of uniting into a community, or of improving their natural sagacity; whilst man, who has reduced them to that precarious state, exults in their degradation, and prides himself in that superior nature and those rational powers which constitute a perpetual distinction between his species and all others.

The brutes, we are told, bring nothing to perfection: their operations, therefore, can only be mechanical, and suppose no principle similar to that which actuates man. Without examining in what particulars perfection consists; whether the most civilized being is in reality the most perfect; whether what he acquires in the property of things, he does not lose in the property of his person; or, whether all he adds to his enjoyments is not so much subtracted from his duration; we cannot but confess, that the beaver, which in Europe is a wandering, solitary, timorous, and stupid animal, was in Canada acquainted with civil and domestic government, knew how to distinguish the proper seasons for labour and rest, was acquainted with some rules of architecture,

and with the curious and learned art of constructing dikes. Yet he had attained to this degree of improvement with feeble and imperfect tools. He can hardly see the work he does with his tail. His teeth, which answer the purposes of a variety of tools, are circular, and confined by the lips. Man, on the contrary, with hands fit for every purpose, hath in this single organ of the touch all the combined powers of strength and dexterity. Is it not to this advantage of organization that he owes the superiority of his species above all others? It is not because his eyes are turned towards heaven, as those of all birds are, that he is the lord of the creation; it is because he is provided with hands that are supple, pliable, industrious, formidable, and weapons of defence, and ever ready to assist him. His hand is his sceptre: it is with that he marks his dominion over the earth, by destroying and ravaging the face of the globe. The surest sign of the population of mankind is the depopulation of other species. That of beavers gradually decreases and disappears in Canada, since the Europeans have been in request of their skins.

Their skins vary with the climate, both in colour and kind. In the same district, however, where the colonies of civilized beavers are found, there are some that are wild and solitary. These animals, who are said to be turned out of society for their ill behaviour, live in a channel under ground, and have neither lodging nor storehouse. Their coat is dirty, and the hair is worn off of their backs by rubbing against the cave which they dig for their habitation. This slip, which commonly opens into some pond or ditch full of water, sometimes extends above a hundred feet in length, and slopes up gradually to facilitate their escape from inundations when the waters rise. Some of these beavers are so wild as to fly from all communication with their natural element, and to live entirely on land. In this they agree with our otters in Europe. These wild beavers have not such sleek hair as those that live in societies; their furs are answerable to their manners.

Beavers

Beavers are found in America from the thirtieth to the sixtieth degree of north latitude. There are but few towards the south, but they increase and grow darker as we advance towards the north. In the country of the Illinois, they are yellow and straw-coloured; higher up, they are of a light chestnut; to the north of Canada, of a dark chestnut; and some are even found that are quite black, and these are reckoned the finest. Yet in this climate, the coldest that is inhabited by this species, there are some among the black ones that are quite white; others white speckled with grey, and sometimes with sandy spots on the rump: so much does nature delight in shewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences not only on the figure but on the very clothing of animals. The value that men set on their lives, depends upon the colour of their skins. Some they neglect to that degree, that they will not even kill them; but this is uncommon.

C H A P. IV.

In what places, and in what manner the Fur-trade was carried on.

THE fur-trade was the first the Europeans carried on in Canada. It was first opened by the French colony at Tadoussac, a port situated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivières, at the distance of twenty-five leagues from the capital, and higher up, became a second mart. In process of time all the fur-trade centered in Montreal. The skins were brought thither on canoes made of the bark of trees in the month of June. The number of Indians who resorted to that place increased, as the fame of the French spread further. The account of the reception they had met with, the sight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, every thing contributed.

contributed to increase the concourse. Whenever they returned with a fresh supply of furs, they always brought a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the several tribes of that vast continent resorted.

The English grew jealous of this branch of wealth; and the colony they had founded at New York soon found means to divert the stream of this great circulation. As soon as they had secured a subsistence, by bestowing their first attention upon agriculture, they began to think of the fur-trade, which was at first confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations of that name would not suffer their lands to be traversed in order to give an opportunity of treating with other savage nations who were at constant enmity with them; nor would they allow those nations to come upon their territories to share in competition with them the profits of the trade they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguished, or rather suspended, the national hostilities between the Indians, the English spread all over the country, and the savages flocked to them from all quarters. This nation had infinite advantages for obtaining the preference over their rivals the French. Their navigation was easier, and consequently they could afford to undersell them. They were the only manufacturers of the coarse cloths that best suited the savages. The beaver-trade was free among them; whereas, among the French, it was, and ever has been, subject to the tyranny of monopoly.

At this time the French in Canada indulged themselves more freely in a custom which at first had been confined within narrow bounds. Their inclination for frequenting the woods, which was that of the first colonists, had been wisely restrained within the limits of the territory belonging to the colony. Permission was, however, granted every year to twenty-five persons to extend beyond these limits, to trade with the Indians. The superiority which New York was acquiring,

acquiring, was the cause of increasing the number of these permissions. They were a kind of patent, which the patentees might make use of either in person or by proxy, and which lasted a year or more. They were sold; and the produce was distributed by the governor of the colony to the officers or their widows and children, to hospitals and missionaries, to such as had distinguished themselves by some great action or some useful undertaking, and sometimes even to the creatures of the governor who sold the patents himself. The money which he did not give away, or did not chuse to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was accountable to none for his administration.

This custom was attended with fatal consequences. Many of these traders settled among the Indians, to defraud their partners whose goods they had disposed of. Many more went and settled among the English, where the profits were greater. Several of the French were lost upon immense lakes, frequently agitated with violent storms; among the cascades, which render navigation so dangerous up the broadest rivers in the whole world; under the weight of the canoes, the provisions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to carry upon their shoulders at the *carrying places*, where the rapidity or shallowness of the water obliged them to quit the rivers, and pursue their journey by land. Numbers perished in the snow and on the ice, by hunger, or by the sword of the enemy. Those who returned to the colony with a profit of six or seven hundred *per cent.* were not always the more useful members, as they gave themselves up to the greatest excesses, and by their example disgusted others from assiduous labours. Their fortunes disappeared as quickly as they had been amassed, like those moving mountains which a whirlwind raises and destroys at once on the sandy plains of Africa. Most of these travelling traders, spent with the excessive fatigues which their avarice prompted them to undergo, and the licentiousness of

a wandering and dissolute life, dragged on a premature old age in indigence and infamy. The government took notice of these irregularities, and put the fur-trade upon a better footing.

France had for a long time been incessantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought necessary for her preservation and aggrandizement in North America. Those they had built to the west and south of the river St Lawrence, were large and strong, and were intended to confine the ambition of the English. Those which were constructed on the several lakes in the most important positions, formed a chain which extended northward to the distance of a thousand leagues from Quebec; but they were only miserable palisades, intended to keep the Indians in awe, and to secure their alliance and the produce of their chase. There was a garrison in each, more or less numerous according to the importance of the post and of the enemies who threatened it. It was thought proper to intrust the commandant of each of these forts with the exclusive right of buying and selling in the whole district under his dominion. This privilege was purchased; but as it was always productive of profit, and sometimes of a considerable fortune, it was granted to none but such officers as were most in favour. If any of these had not a stock sufficient for the undertaking, he could easily get some monied men to join with him. It was pretended, that this system, far from being contrary to the benefit of the service, was a means of promoting it; as it obliged the gentlemen of the army to keep up more constant connections with the natives, to watch their motions, and to neglect nothing that could secure their friendship. Nobody foresaw, or chose to foresee, that this could not fail of stifling every sentiment but that of self-interest, and would be a source of perpetual oppression.

This tyranny, which soon became universal, was severely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of those three forts, abusing their
privilege,

privilege, set so low a value upon the goods that were brought them, and rated their own so high, that by degrees the Indians would not stop there. They went in vast numbers to Chouaguén, on the lake Ontario, where the English dealt with them upon more advantageous terms. These new connections were represented as alarming to the court of France, who found means to weaken them by taking the trade of these three posts into her own hands, and treating the Indians still better than they were treated by the rival nation.

The consequence was, that the king acquired the sole possession of all the refuse of the furs; and got the skins of all the beasts that were killed in the summer and autumn, the most ordinary, the thinnest, and most easily spoiled, were reserved for the king. All these damaged furs, unfairly bought, and carelessly heaped up in warehouses, were eaten up by the moths.

At the proper season for sending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the discretion of soldiers, passengers, and watermen, who, as they had no concern in those goods, did not take the least care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were sold for half of the little they were worth. Thus the returns were rather less than the sums advanced by the government for this losing trade.

But though this trade was of no value to the king, it may yet be doubted whether it brought any profit to the Indians, though gold and silver were not the dangerous medium of their traffic. They received, indeed, in exchange for their furs, saws, knives, hatchets, kettles, fish-hooks, needles, thread, ordinary linen, coarse woollen stuffs, the first tokens or bands of sociability. But we sold them articles likewise that would have proved prejudicial to them even as a gift or a present, such as guns, powder and shot, tobacco, and especially brandy.

This liquor, the most fatal present the old world ever made to the new, was no sooner known to the savages,

ges, than they grew passionately fond of it. It was equally impossible for them to abstain from it, or to use it with moderation. It was soon observed that this liquor disturbed their domestic peace, deprived them of their judgement, made them furious; that it occasioned husbands, wives, children, brothers and sisters, to abuse and quarrel with one another. In vain did some sober Frenchmen expostulate with them, and endeavour to shame them out of these excesses. "It is you (answered they) who have taught us to drink this liquor; and now we cannot do without it. If you refuse to give it to us, we will go and get it of the English. It is you have done the mischief, and it cannot be repaired."

The court of France, upon receiving contradictory information with respect to the disorders occasioned by this pernicious trade, hath alternately prohibited, tolerated, and authorised it, according to the light in which it was represented to the ministry. In the midst of these variations, the interest of the merchants was seldom at a stand. The sale of brandy was at all times nearly the same. Rational men considered it, however, as the principle cause of the diminution of the human race, and consequently of the skins of beasts, which became every day more and more evident.

C H A P. V.

State of CANADA at the peace of UTRECHT.

AT the peace of Utrecht, this vast country was in a state of weakness and misery not to be conceived. This was owing to the French who came there first, and who rather threw themselves into this country than settled upon it. Most of them had done nothing more than run about the woods; the more reasonable among them had attempted some cultures, but without choice or plan. A piece of ground, hastily

hastily tilled and built upon, was as hastily forsaken. However, the expences the government was at, together with the profits of the fur-trade, at times afforded the inhabitants a comfortable subsistence; but a series of unfortunate wars soon deprived them of these enjoyments. In 1714, the exports from Canada did not exceed 13,125*l.* This sum, added to 15,312*l.* 10*s.* which the government sent over every year, was all the colony had to depend upon for the payment of the goods they received from Europe. And indeed these were so few, that most people were reduced to wear skins like the Indians. Such was the deplorable situation of the far greater part of twenty thousand French inhabitants, who were supposed to be in these immense regions.

C H A P. VI.

Population, agriculture, manners, government, fisheries, industry, and revenues of CANADA.

BUT the happy spirit which at that time animated the several parts of the world, roused Canada from the languid state in which it had been so long plunged. It appears from the estimates taken in 1753 and 1758, which were nearly equal, that the population amounted to 91,000 souls, exclusive of the regular troops, whose numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony.

This calculation did not include the many allies dispersed throughout an extent of 1200 leagues in length, and of considerable breadth; nor yet the 16,000 Indians who dwelt in the centre of the French settlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of these were ever considered as subjects, tho' they lived in the midst of a great European colony: the smallest clans still preserved their independence. All men talk of liberty, but the savage alone enjoys it.
Not

Not only the whole nation, but every individual, is truly free. The consciousness of his independence operates upon all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Asiatic monarch just as he would come into a peasant's cottage, and neither be dazzled by his splendor nor awed by his power. It is his own species, it is mankind, it is his equal, that he loves and respects; but he would hate a master, and destroy him.

Part of the French colony was centured in three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is 1500 leagues distant from France, and 120 leagues from the sea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninsula made by the river St Lawrence and the river St Charles; and commands a prospect over extensive fields which serve to enrich it, and a very safe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ships. It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better security than the fortifications erected on the ramparts that cut the peninsula. The houses are tolerably well constructed. The inhabitants, were computed at about 10,000 souls at the beginning of the year 1759. It was the centre of commerce, and the seat of government.

The city of the Trois Rivières, built ten years later than Quebec, and situated thirty leagues higher, was raised with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this settlement, though brilliant at first, never attained to more than 1500 inhabitants, because the fur-trade was soon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal.

Montreal is an island, ten leagues long and four broad almost, formed by the river St Lawrence, sixty leagues above Quebec. Of all the adjacent country, this is the mildest, the most pleasant and the most fruitful spot. A few scattered huts, erected by chance in 1640, advanced to a regular built town, which contained four thousand inhabitants. At first it lay exposed

to the insults of the savages; but was afterwards enclosed with slight palisades, and then with a wall about fifteen feet high, topped with battlements. It fell to decay when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged the French to erect forts higher up the country to secure the fur-trade.

The other colonists, who were not comprised within the walls of these three cities, did not live in towns, but were scattered along the banks of the river St Lawrence. None were to be seen near the mouth of that river, where the soil is rugged and barren, and where no corn will ripen. The first habitations to the south began fifty leagues, and to the north twenty leagues, below Quebec; they were thinly scattered, and their produce was but indifferent. The truly fertile fields began only near the capital, and they grew better as one drew nearer to Montreal. Nothing can be more beautiful to the eye than the rich borders of that long and broad canal. Woods scattered here and there which decorated the tops of the grassy mountains, meadows covered with flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, small streams of water flowing down to the river, churches and castles seen at intervals through the trees, exhibited a succession of the most enchanting prospects. These would have been still more delightful, if the edict of 1745 had been observed, which forbade the colonist from dividing his plantations, unless they were an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty acres in depth. Indolent heirs would not then have torn in pieces the inheritance of their fathers. They would have been compelled to form new plantations; and vast spaces of fallow land would no longer have separated rich and cultivated plains.

Nature herself directed the labours of the husbandman, and taught him to avoid watery and sandy grounds, and all those where the pine, the fir-tree, and the cedar, grew solitary; but wherever he found a soil covered with maple, oak, beach, horn-beam, and small cherry trees, there he might reasonably

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expect

expect an increase of twenty to one in his wheat, and thirty to one in Indian corn, without the trouble of manuring.

All the plantations, though of different extents, were sufficient for the wants of their respective owners. There were few of them did not yield maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulse, and pot herbs, in great plenty, excellent in their kind.

Most of the inhabitants had a score of sheep whose wool was very valuable to them, ten or a dozen milch-cows, and five or six oxen for the plough. The cattle was small, but their flesh was excellent, and these people lived much better than our country people do in Europe.

With this kind of affluence, they could afford to keep a good number of horses. They were not fine, indeed; but able to go through a great deal of hard work, and to run a prodigious way upon the snow. They were so fond of multiplying them in the colony, that in winter-time they would lavish on them the corn that they themselves regretted at another season.

Such was the situation of the 83,000 French dispersed or collected on the banks of the river St Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the Upper Country, there were 8000 more, who were more addicted to hunting and trade than to husbandry.

Their first settlement was Catarakui, or fort Frontenac, built in 1671, at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to stop the inroads of the English and Iroquois: The bay of this place served as a harbour for the men of war and trading vessels belonging to this great lake, which might with more propriety be called a sea, and where storms are almost as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

Between the lakes Ontario and Erie, which both measure 300 leagues in circumference, lies a continent of 14 leagues. This land is intersected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara, which
from

from its height, breadth, and shape, and from the quantity and impetuosity of its waters, is justly accounted the most wonderful cataract in the world. It was above this grand and awful water-fall, that France had erected fortifications, with a design to prevent the Indians, from carrying their furs to the rival nation.

Beyond the lake Erie is an extent of land, distinguished by the name of the Strait, which exceeds all Canada for the mildness of the climate, the beauty and variety of the prospects, the richness of the soil, and the profusion of game and fish. Nature has lavished all her sweets to enrich this delightful spot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to settle there in the beginning of the present century. It was the vicinity of several Indian nations who could supply them abundantly with furs; and, indeed, this trade increased with considerable rapidity.

The success of this new settlement proved fatal to the post of Michillimakinach, a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greatest part of the trade which used to be carried on there with the natives, went over to the Strait; and there it fixed.

Besides the forts already mentioned, there are some of lesser note, in different parts of the country, constructed upon rivers, or at the openings between the mountains. The first sentiment interest inspires is that of mistrust, and its first impulse is that of attack or defence. Each of these forts was manned with a garrison, which defended the French who were settled in the neighbourhood. All together made up 8000 souls, who inhabited the upper country.

The manners of the French colonists settled in Canada were not always answerable to the climate they inhabited. Those that lived in the country spent their winter in idleness, gravely sitting by their fire-side. When the return of spring called them out

to the indispensable labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then sunk again into their former indolence till harvest-time. The people were too proud or too lazy to work for hire, so that every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be seen of that sprightly joy, which on a fine summer's day enlivens the reapers, whilst they are gathering in their rich harvests. Those of the Canadians never went beyond a small parcel of corn of each kind, a little hay and tobacco, a few cyder-apples, cabbages, and onions. This was the whole produce of a plantation in that country.

This amazing negligence might be owing to several causes. The excessive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, in a manner locked up and benumbed the faculties of men. They contracted such a habit of idleness during the continuance of the severe weather for eight months successively, that labour appeared an intolerable hardship even in the finest weather. The numerous festivals of their religion were another hindrance to their industry. Men are ready enough to practise that kind of devotion which exempts them from labour. Lastly, their passion for arms, which had been purposely encouraged amongst these courageous and daring men, made them averse from the labours of husbandry. Their minds were so entirely absorbed in military glory, that they were fond of nothing but war, though they engaged in it without pay.

The inhabitants of the cities, especially of the capital, lived, both in winter and summer, in a constant round of dissipation. They were alike insensible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleasures of imagination; they had no taste for arts or sciences, for reading or instruction. Their only passion was amusement, and persons of all ages were fond of dancing at assemblies. This way of life considerably increased the influence of the ladies; who were possessed of every attraction, except those soft emotions of the soul, which alone
constitute

constitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, coquettes, and addicted to gallantry, they were more gratified with inspiring than feeling the tender passion. In both sexes might be observed a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher sense of honour than of real honesty. Superstition took place of morality, as it does wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers.

Idleness, prejudice, and levity, would never have taken such an ascendant in Canada, had the government been careful to employ the minds of the people upon solid and profitable objects. But all the colonists were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the slow and sure process of the laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an awful decree, which they were to submit to without examination. Delays, representations, excuses of honour, were so many crimes in the eyes of a despotic ruler, who had usurped a power of punishing or absolving by his bare word. He held in his own hands all favours and penalties, rewards and punishments; the right of imprisoning without the shadow of a crime, and the still more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees as so many acts of justice, tho' they were but the irregular sallies of his own caprice.

In early times, this unlimited power was not confined to matters relative to military discipline and political administration, but was extended even to civil jurisdiction. The governor decided arbitrarily and without appeal upon all differences arising between the colonists. Fortunately these contests were very rare, in a country where all things were almost, as it were, in common. This dangerous authority subsisted till 1663, at which period a tribunal was erected in the capital, for the definitive trial of all causes

depending throughout the colony. The custom of Paris, modified suitably to local combinations, formed the code of their laws.

This code was not mutilated or disfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The administration of the finances in Canada only took up a few fines of alienation; a trifling contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal towards keeping up the fortifications; and some duties upon all goods imported and exported, which, indeed, were too high. In 1747, all these several articles brought no more than 11,383*l.* 15*s.* into the treasury.

The lands were not taxed by the government, nor did they enjoy an entire exemption. A great mistake was made at the first settling of the colony, in granting to officers and gentlemen a piece of land, from two to four leagues in front, and unlimited in depth. These great proprietors, who were men of moderate fortunes, and unskilled in agriculture, were unable to manage such vast estates, and were therefore under a necessity of making over their lands to soldiers or planters upon condition they should pay them a kind of ground rent or homage for ever. This was introducing into America something very like the feudal government, which was so long fatal to Europe. The lord ceded ninety acres to each of his vassals, who on their part engaged to work in his mill, to pay him annually one or two sols per acre, and a bushel and a half of corn for the entire grant. This tax, though but a small one, maintained a great number of idle people, at the expence of the only class with which a colony ought to have been peopled. The true inhabitants, the laborious men, found the burden of maintaining an annuitant nobility increased by the additional exactions of the clergy. In 1667, the tithes were imposed. They were, indeed, reduced to a twenty-sixth part of the crops, notwithstanding the clamours of that rapacious body; but still this was an oppression, in a country where the clergy had a property allotted them, which was sufficient for their maintenance.

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So many impediments thrown in the way of agriculture, disabled the colony to pay for the necessities that came from the mother country. The French ministry were at last so fully convinced of this truth, that after having always obstinately opposed the establishment of manufactures in America, they thought it their interest even to promote them, in 1706. But these too tardy encouragements had very little effect; and the united industry of the colonists could never produce more than a few coarse linens, and some very bad woollen stuffs.

The fisheries were not much more inviting than the manufactures. The only one that could be an object of exportation, was that of the SEAL. This animal has been ranked in the class of fish, though he is not dumb, is always born on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is somewhat like that of a mastiff. He has four paws, which are very short, especially the hinder ones, which serve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are shaped like fins, but the fore-feet have claws. His skin is hard, and covered with short hair. He is born white, but turns sandy or black as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all the three colours.

There are two distinct sorts of seals. The larger sort will sometimes weigh no less than two thousand weight, and seem to have a sharper snout than the others. The small ones, whose skin is commonly marbled, are brisker, and more dexterous at extricating themselves out of the snares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them so far as to make them follow them.

It is upon the rocks that they couple, and that the dams lay their young, and sometimes upon the ice. They commonly bear two; and they frequently suckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to swim, it is said they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are strong enough

enough to swim of themselves. Most little birds flutter about from spray to spray before they venture to fly abroad ; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boisterous winds ; it is not therefore surprising, that the seal, born on land, should exercise her little ones in living under water.

The manner of fishing for these amphibious animals is very simple. Their custom is, when they are out at sea, to enter into the creeks with the tide. As soon as some place is discovered where they resort in shoals, they surround it with nets and stakes, only taking care to leave a little opening for them to get in. At high water this opening is stopped up, and when the tide is gone down the prey remains on dry ground. There is nothing more to do but to knock them down. Sometimes the fishermen get into a canoe, and follow them to their lurking places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads out of the water to take in air. If they are only wounded, they are easily caught ; if they are killed they sink directly, but are fetched up by great dogs that are trained up to dive for them seven or eight fathom under water.

The skin of the seal was formerly used for muffs ; but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make shoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of morocco leather. If on the one hand it is not quite so fine, on the other it keeps longer.

The flesh of the seal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account if it is boiled down to oil. For this purpose, it is sufficient to set it on the fire in a copper or earthen vessel. Frequently nothing more is done than to spread the fat upon large squares made of boards, where it melts of itself, and the oil runs off through an opening made for that purpose. It keeps clear for a long time, has no bad smell, and does not gather dross. It is used for burning and for dressing of leather.

Five or six small ships were fitted out yearly from Canada for the seal-fishery in the gulph of St Lawrence,

rence, and one or two less for the Caribbee islands. They received from the islands nine or ten vessels laden with rum, melasses, coffee, and sugar; and from France about thirty ships, whose lading together might amount to nine thousand tons.

In the interval between the two last wars, which was the most flourishing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 525,000 *l.* in furs, 35,000 *l.* in beaver, 10,937 *l.* 10 *s.* in seal oil, the same in flour and pease, and 6562 *l.* 10 *s.* in wood of all kinds. These several articles put together, amounted but to 115,937 *l.* 10 *s.* a year, a sum insufficient to pay for the commodities they drew from the mother country. The government made up the deficiency.

When the French were in possession of Canada, they had very little money. The little that was brought in from time to time by the new settlers did not stay long in the country, because the necessities of the colony sent it away again. This was a great obstacle to the progress of commerce and agriculture. In 1670, the court of Versailles coined a particular sort of money for the use of all the French settlements in America; and set a nominal value upon it, a fourth part above the value of the current coin of the mother country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at least with regard to New France. They therefore contrived to substitute paper currency to metal, for the payment of the troops and other expences of government. This succeeded till the year 1713, when they were no longer true to the engagements they had entered into with the administrators of the colony. The bills of exchange they drew upon the treasury of the mother country were not honoured, and from that time fell into discredit. They were at last paid off in 1720, but with the loss of five-eighths.

This event occasioned the use of money to be resumed in Canada; but this expedient lasted only two years. The merchants found it troublesome, chargeable, and hazardous, to send money to France, and
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so did all the colonies who had any remittances to make; so that they were the first to solicit the re-establishment of paper currency. This money consisted of cards, on which was stamped the arms of France and Navarre; and they were signed by the governor, the intendant, and the comptroller. They were of 1 *l.* 1 *s.* 10 *s.* 6 *d.* 5 *s.* 3 *d.* 2 *s.* 1 *d.* halfpenny, and of 1 *s.* 3 *d.* 3-fourths, 7 *d.* 8-twelfths, 3 *d.* 3-fourths value. The value of the whole number that was made out, did not exceed 43,750 *l.* When this sum was not sufficient for the demands of the public, the deficiency was made up by orders signed only by the intendant. This was the first grievance; but another and more scandalous abuse was, that their number was unlimited. The smallest were of 10 *d.* halfpenny, and the highest of 4 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* These different papers circulated about the colony, and supplied the want of money till the month of October. This was the latest season for the ships to sail from Canada. Then all this paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange payable in France by the government, which was supposed to have made use of the value. But they were so multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal treasury could no longer answer such large demands, and was forced to protract the payment. An unfortunate war, that broke out two years after, so increased their number, that at last they were prohibited. This presently raised the price of all commodities to an immoderate degree; and as on account of the enormous expences of the war, the king was the great consumer, he alone bore the loss of the discarded paper, and of the dearness of the goods. In 1759, the ministry were obliged to stop payment of the Canada bills, till their origin and their real value could be traced. They amounted to an alarming number.

The annual expences of government for Canada, which in 1729 did not exceed 17,500 *l.* and before 1749 never went beyond 74,375 *l.* were immense after that period. The year 1750 cost 91,875 *l.* the year

year 1751, 118,125*l.* the year 1752, 178,937*l.* 10*s.* the year 1753, 231,875*l.* the year 1754, 194,687*l.* 10*s.* the year 1755, 266,875*l.* the year 1756, 494,375*l.* the year 1757, 842,187*l.* the year 1758, 1,220,625*l.* the year 1759, 1,137,500*l.* the first eight months of the year 1760, 590,625*l.* Of these prodigious sums, 3,500,000*l.* were owing at the peace.

This dishonest debt was traced up to its origin, and the enormities that had given rise to it were inquired into as far as the distance of time and place would allow. The greatest delinquents, who were become so in consequence of the unlimited power and credit given them by the government, were legally condemned to make considerable restitutions, but still too moderate. The claims of private creditors were all discussed. Fortunately for them and for the nation, the ministry intrusted with this important and necessary business, were none but men of known integrity, who were not to be intimidated by the threats of power, nor bribed by the offers of fortune; who could not be imposed upon by artifice, or wearied out by difficulties. By steadily and impartially holding an even balance between the interest of the public and the rights of individuals, they reduced the sum total of the debts to 1,662,000*l.*

C H A P. VII.

Advantages which FRANCE might have derived from CANADA. Errors which have deprived her of them.

IT was the fault of France if Canada was not worth the immense sums that were bestowed upon it. It had long since appeared, that this vast region was every where capable of yielding prodigious crops; yet no more was cultivated than what was barely sufficient for the sustenance of the inhabitants.

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With moderate labour they might have raised corn enough to supply all the American islands, and even some parts of Europe. It is well known, that in 1751 the colony sent over two ship-loads of wheat to Marseilles, which proved very good, and sold very well. This exportation ought to have been encouraged the more as the crops are liable to few accidents in that country, where the corn is sown in May, and gathered in before the end of August.

If husbandry had been encouraged and extended, the breed of cattle would have been increased. They have so much pasture ground, and such plenty of acorns, that the colonies might easily have bred oxen and hogs, sufficient to supply the French islands with beef and pork, without having recourse to Irish beef. Possibly, they might in time have increased so much as to be able to victual the ships of the mother country.

Their sheep would have been no less advantageous to France. They were easily bred in Canada, where the dams commonly bear twins : and if they did not multiply faster, it was because the ewes were left with the ram at all seasons ; because, as they mostly brought forth in February, the severity of the weather destroyed a great many lambs ; and because they were obliged to feed them with corn, and the inhabitants found this so chargeable, that they did not much care to rear them. All this might have been prevented by a law, enjoining all farmers to part the ram from the ewes from September to February. The lambs dropped in May would have been reared without any expence or hazard, and in a short time the colony would have been covered with numerous flocks. Their wool, which is known to be very fine and good, would have supplied the manufactures of France, instead of that which they import from Andalusia and Castile. The state would have been enriched by this valuable commodity ; and, in return, the colony would have received a thousand new and desirable articles from the mother country.

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The Gin-seng would have been a great acquisition to both. This plant, which the Chinese procure from the Corea, or from Tartary, and which they buy at the weight of gold, was found in 1720, by the Jesuit Lafitau, in the forests of Canada, where it grows very common. It was soon carried to Canton, where it was much esteemed, and sold at an extravagant price. The Gin-seng, which at first sold at Quebec for about 1*s.* 6*d.* a-pound, immediately rose to 1*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* halfpenny. In 1752, the Canadians exported this plant to the value of 21,875*l.* There was such a demand for it, that they were induced to gather in May what ought not to have been gathered till September, and to dry in the oven what should have been dried gradually in a shade. This spoilt the sale of the Gin-seng of Canada in the only country in the world where it could find a market; and the colonists were severely punished for their excessive rapaciousness, by the total loss of a branch of commerce, which, if rightly managed, might have proved a source of opulence.

Another and a surer source for the encouragement of industry, was the working of the iron mines which abound in those parts. The only one that has ever attracted the notice of the Europeans, lies near the town of the Trois Rivières. It was discovered near the surface of the ground; there are no mines that yield more, and the best in Spain are not superior to it for the pliability of the metal. A smith from Europe, who came thither in 1739, greatly improved the working of this mine, which till then had been but unskilfully managed. From that time no other iron was used in the colony. They even exported some samples; but France would not be convinced that this iron was the best for fire-arms. The design of using this iron would have been very favourable to the project which, after much irresolution, had at last been adopted, of forming a marine establishment in Canada.

The first Europeans who landed on that vast region, found it all over covered with forests. The

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principal trees were oaks of prodigious height, and pines of all sizes. These woods could have been conveyed with ease down the river St Lawrence, and the numberless rivers that discharge into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all these treasures were overlooked or despised. At last the court of Versailles thought proper to attend to them. They gave orders for erecting docks at Quebec for building men of war; but unfortunately trusted the business to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private interest.

The timber should have been felled upon the hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by contracting its fibres; whereas it was constantly fetched from marshy grounds, and from the banks of the rivers, where the moisture gives it a looser texture, and makes it too rich. Instead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down on rafts to the place of its destination; where being forgotten and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moss that rotted it. It ought to have been put under sheds when it was landed; but it was left exposed to the sun in summer, to the snow in winter, and to the rains in spring and autumn. From thence it was conveyed into the dock-yards, where it again sustained the inclemency of the seasons for two or three years. Negligence or dishonesty enhanced the price of every thing to such a degree, that they got their sails, ropes, pitch, and tar, from Europe, in a country, which, with a little industry, might have supplied the whole kingdom of France with all these materials. This bad management had totally brought the wood of Canada into disrepute, and effectually ruined the resources which that country afforded for the navy.

This colony furnished the manufactures of the mother country with a branch of industry that might almost be called an exclusive one, which was the preparation of the beaver. This commodity at first was subjected to the burden and restraints of monopoly. The India company could not but make an

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ill use of their privilege, and really did so. What they bought of the Indians was chiefly paid for in English scarlet cloths, which those people were very fond of appearing in. But as they could make twenty-five or thirty *per cent.* more of their commodities in the English settlements than the company chose to give, they carried thither all they could conceal from the search of the company's agents, and exchanged their beaver for English cloth and India calico. Thus did France, by the abuse of an institution which she was by no means obliged to maintain, lose the double advantage of furnishing materials to some of her own manufactures, and of securing a market for the produce of some others. She was equally ignorant with regard to the facility of establishing a whale-fishery in Canada.

The chief sources of this fishery are Davis's straits and Greenland. Fifty ships come every year into the former of these latitudes, and a hundred and fifty into the latter. The Dutch are concerned for more than three fourths of them. The rest are fitted out from Bremen, Hamburg, and Britain. It is computed that the whole expence of fitting out 200 ships, of 350 tons burden upon an average, must amount to 437,500 *l.* The usual produce of each is rated at 3,500 *l.* and consequently the whole amount of the fishery cannot be less than 140,000 *l.* If we deduct from this the profits of the seamen who devote themselves to this hard and dangerous voyage, very little remains for the merchants concerned in this trade.

This is what first gradually disgusted the Biscayans, who were the first adventurers in the undertaking. They have not been succeeded by other Frenchmen, insomuch that the whole fishery has been totally thrown up by that nation, which of all others made the greatest consumption of blubber, whalebone, and spermaceti. Many proposals have been made for resuming it in Canada. There was the finest prospect of a plentiful fishery in the river St Lawrence, attended with less danger and less expence than at Davis's straits or Greenland. It has ever
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been the fate of this colony, that the best schemes relative to it have not been brought to bear; and this in particular of a whale-fishery, which would have singularly roused the activity of the colonists, and would have proved an excellent nursery for seamen, has never met with the countenance of the government.

The same remissness has baffled the scheme, so often planned, and two or three times attempted, of fishing for cod on both sides of the river St Lawrence. Very possibly the success would not have fully answered their expectation, because the fish is but indifferent, and proper beaches are wanting to dry it. But the gulph would have made ample amends. It abounds with cod, which might have been carried to Newfoundland or Louisbourg, and advantageously bartered for productions of the Carribbee islands and European commodities. Every thing conspired to promote the prosperity of the settlements in Canada, if they had been seconded by the men who seemed to be the most interested in them. But whence could proceed that inconceivable inaction, which suffered them to languish in the same low condition they were in at first?

It must be confessed, some obstacles arose from the very nature of the climate. The river St Lawrence is frozen up for six months in the year. At other times it is not navigable by night, on account of the thick fogs, rapid currents, sand-banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even dangerous by day-light. These difficulties increase from Quebec to Montreal, to such a degree, that sailing is quite impracticable, and rowing so difficult, that from the Trois Rivières, where the tide ends, the oars cannot resist the violence of the current, without the assistance of a very fair wind, and then only in the space of a month or six weeks. From Montreal to the Lake Ontario, travellers meet with no less than six water-falls, which oblige them to unload their canoes, and to carry them and their lading a considerable way by land.

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Far from encouraging man to get the better of nature, a misinformed government planned none but ruinous schemes. To gain the advantage over the English in the fur-trade, they erected three and thirty forts, at a great distance from each other. The building and victualling of them diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engrossed their attention. This error engaged them in an arduous and perilous track.

It was not without some uneasiness that the Indians saw the beginnings of these settlements, which might endanger their liberty. Their suspicions induced them to take up arms, so that the colony was seldom free from war. Necessity made all the Canadians soldiers. Their manly and military education made them hardy, and fearless of danger. Just emerging from childhood, they would traverse a vast continent in the summer time in canoes, and in winter on foot through ice and snow. As they had nothing but their gun to procure subsistence with, they were in continual danger of starving; but they were under no apprehensions of fear, not even of falling into the hands of the savages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, far worse than death.

The sedentary arts of peace, and the steady labours of agriculture, had no attraction for men accustomed to an active but wandering life. The court, which forms no idea of the sweets or the utility of rural life, increased the aversion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by bestowing all their favours and honours upon military actions alone. The distinction that was mostly lavished was that of nobility, which was attended with the most fatal consequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleness, but also inspired them with an unsurmountable turn for every thing that was splendid. Profits, which ought to have been kept sacred for the improvement of the lands, were laid out in ornament, and a real property was concealed under the trappings of destructive luxury.

C H A P. VIII.

Origin of the wars between the BRITISH and
the FRENCH in CANADA.

SUCH was the state of the colony in 1747, when La Galiffoniere was appointed governor. He was an able, resolute, and active man; a man of great steadiness, because he acted upon sound principles. The British wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the south side of the river St Lawrence. He thought this an unjust claim, and was determined to confine them within the peninsula, which he apprehended to be the limits settled by treaty. Their ambition of encroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio or Fair River, he likewise thought unreasonable. He was of opinion, that the Apalachian mountain, ought to be the boundary of their possessions, and was fully determined they should not pass them. His successor, who was appointed whilst he was collecting the means of accomplishing this vast design, entered into his views with all the warmth they deserved. Numbers of forts were immediately erected on all sides, to support the system which the court had adopted, perhaps, without foreseeing, or perhaps without sufficiently attending to, the consequences.

At this period began those hostilities between the British and the French in North America, which were rather countenanced than openly avowed by the respective mother countries. This clandestine mode of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the ministry at Versailles, as it afforded an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without exposing their weakness, what they had lost by treaties, at a time when the enemy had imposed their own terms. These repeated checks at last opened the
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eyes of Great Britain, and disclosed the political system of her rival. George II. thought an equivocal situation was inconsistent with the superiority of his maritime forces. His flag was ordered to insult the French flag on every sea. The English accordingly took or dispersed all the French ships they met with, and in 1758 steered towards Cape Breton.

C H A P. IX

Conquest of CAPE BRETON by the BRITISH.

THIS island, the key of Canada, already had been attacked in 1745; and the event is of so singular a nature, that it deserves a particular detail. The plan of this first invasion was laid at Boston, and New England bore the expence of it. A merchant, named Pepperel, who had stirred up, encouraged, and directed the enthusiasm of the colony, was intrusted with the command of an army of 6000 men, who had been levied for this expedition.

Though these forces, convoyed by a squadron from Jamaica, brought the first news to Cape Breton of the danger that threatened them; though the advantage of a surprize would have secured their landing without opposition; though they had but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 inhabitants hastily armed; the success of the undertaking was still precarious. What great exploits, indeed, could be expected from a raw militia, hastily assembled, who had never seen a siege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the guidance of sea-officers only. These unexperienced troops stood in need of the assistance of some fortunate incident, which they were indeed favoured with in a singular manner.

The construction and repairs of the fortifications had at all times been left to the management of the garrison of Louisbourg. The soldiers were eager of being

being employed in these works, which they considered as conducive to their safety, and as a means of procuring a comfortable subsistence. When they found that those who were to have paid them appropriated the fruit of their labours to their own use, they demanded justice. It was denied them, and they determined to maintain their right. As these depredations had been shared between the chief persons of the colony and the subaltern officers, the soldiers could obtain no redress. Their indignation against these rapacious extortioners rose to such a height, that they despised all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for six months past, when the English appeared before the place.

This was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cause. The soldiers made the first advances; but their commanders mistrusted a generosity of which they themselves were incapable. If these mean oppressors could have conceived it possible that the soldiery could have entertained such elevated notions as to sacrifice their own resentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this disposition, and have fallen upon the enemy whilst they were forming their camp and beginning to open their trenches. Besiegers, unacquainted with any military principle, would have been disconcerted by regular and vigorous attacks. The first checks might have been sufficient to discourage them, and to make them relinquish the undertaking. But it was firmly believed, that the soldiers were desirous of falling out, only that they might have an opportunity of deserting; and their own officers kept them in a manner prisoners, till a defence so ill managed had reduced them to the necessity of capitulating. The whole island shared the fate of Louisbourg, its only bulwark.

This valuable possession restored to France by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was again attacked by the English in 1758. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, carrying

carrying 16,000 veterans, anchored in Gabarus bay, within half a league of Louisbourg. As it was evident that it would be to no purpose to land at a greater distance, because it would be impossible to bring up the artillery and other necessaries for a siege, they had bent their whole attention to make the landing impracticable near the town. In the wise precautions that had been taken, the besiegers saw the dangers and difficulties they had to expect, and were not deterred by them, but had recourse to stratagem; and while, by extending their line, they threatened and covered the whole coast, they landed by force of arms at the creek of Cormoran.

This place was weak by nature. The French had fortified it with a good parapet planted with cannon. Behind this rampart, they had posted 2000 excellent soldiers, and some Indians. In front, they had made such a close hedge with branches of trees, as would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. This kind of palisade, which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a distance to be nothing more than a verdant plain.

This would have preserved the colony, had the assailants been suffered to complete their landing, and to advance with confidence as having but few obstacles to surmount. Then, overpowered at once by the fire of the artillery and the small arms, they would infallibly have perished on the shore, or in the hurry of embarking; the more, as the sea was just then very rough. This unexpected loss might have defeated the whole project.

But all the precautions of prudence were rendered abortive by the impetuosity of the French. The British had scarce begun to move towards the shore, when their enemies hastened to discover the snare that was laid for them. By the brisk and hasty fire that was aimed at their boats, and still more by the premature removal of the boughs that masked the forces,

forces, which it was so much the interest of the French to conceal, they guessed at the danger they were going to rush into. They immediately turned back, and saw no other place to effect their landing but a rock, which had been always deemed inaccessible. General Wolf, though much taken up in reembarking his troops, and sending off the boats, beckoned to Major Scot to repair thither.

This officer immediately removed to the spot with his men. His own boat coming up first, and having sunk at the very instant he was stepping out, he climbed up the rock alone. He was in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men who had been sent thither some hours before. He found only ten. With these few, however, he gained the summit of the rock. Ten Indians and sixty Frenchmen killed two of his men, and mortally wounded three. In spite of his weakness, he stood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardless of the boisterous waves and fire of the cannon, came up to him, and put him in full possession of that important post, the only one that could secure their landing.

The French, as soon as they saw that the enemy had got a firm footing on land, betook themselves to the only remaining refuge, and shut themselves up in Louisbourg. The fortifications were in a bad condition, because the sea sand, which they had been obliged to use, is by no means fit for works of masonry. The revetments of the several curtains were entirely crumbled away. There was only one casemate and a small magazine that were bomb proof. The garrison which was to defend the place consisted only of 2,900 men.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the besieged were determined to make an obstinate resistance. While they were employed in defending themselves with so much firmness, the succours they expected from Canada might possibly arrive. At all events, this was a means of preserving that great colony from all

all further invasion for the remainder of the campaign. It is scarce credible that this degree of resolution was supported by the courage of a woman: Madam de Drucourt was continually upon the ramparts, with her purse in her hand; and firing, herself, three guns every day, seemed to dispute with the governor her husband the glory of his office. The besieged were not dismayed at the ill success of their several sallies, or the masterly operations concerted by Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst. It was but at the eve of an assault, which it was impossible to sustain, that they talked of surrendering. They made an honourable capitulation; and the conqueror shewed more respect for his enemy and for himself, than to sully his glory by an act of barbarity or avarice.

C H A P. X.

The BRITISH attack CANADA.

THE conquest of Cape Breton opened the way into Canada. The very next year the seat of war was moved thither, or rather the scenes of bloodshed which had long been acted over that immense country were multiplied. The cause of these proceedings was this:

The French, settled in those parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the finest furs were to be had, and in the greatest plenty.

When this vein of wealth was exhausted, or yielded less than it did at first, their trade turned southward, where they discovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair River. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louisiana. For though the ships that sail up the river St Lawrence go no further than Québec, the navigation is carried on in barges up to lake Ontario, which is parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the
French

French very early built Fort Niagara. It is on this spot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the source of the river Ohio is found, which waters the finest country in the world, and, increasing by the many rivers that fall into it, conveys its waters into the Mississippi.

Yet the French made no use of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourse that subsisted between the two colonies was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much shorter and easier than the old, first began to be frequented by a body of troops that were sent over to Canada in 1739, to assist the colony of Louisiana, which was in open war with the Indians. After this expedition, the southern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period several small forts were erected along the Ohio, the course of which had been traced for four years past. The most considerable of these forts took its name from governor Duquesne, who had built it.

The British colonies could not see without concern French settlements raised behind them, which joined with the old ones, and seemed to surround them. They were apprehensive lest the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, should not prove a sufficient barrier against the attempts of a restless and warlike neighbour. Prompted by this mistrust, they themselves passed these famous mountains, to dispute the possession of the Ohio with the rival nation. This first step proved unsuccessful. The several parties that were successively sent out were routed; and the forts were pulled down as fast as they built them.

To put an end to these national affronts, and revenge the disgrace they reflected on the mother country, a large body of troops was sent over under the command of General Braddock. In the summer of 1755, as this General was proceeding to attack fort Duquesne with 36 pieces of cannon and 600 men, he was surprised within four leagues of the place by 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians, and all his army

was cut to pieces. This unaccountable mischance put a stop to the march of three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall upon Canada. The terror occasioned by this accident made them hasten back to their quarters, and in the next campaign all their motions were guided by the most timorous caution.

The French were emboldened by this perplexity; and, though very much inferior to them, ventured to appear before Oswego in August 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake Ontario. It stood nearly in the centre of Canada, in so advantageous a situation, that many works had from time to time been erected there, which had rendered it one of the capital posts in those parts. It was guarded by 1800 men, with 121 pieces of cannon, and great plenty of stores of all kinds. Though so well supported, it surrendered in a few days to the brisk and bold attacks of 3000 men who were laying siege to it.

In August 1757, 5500 French and 1800 Indians marched up to Fort George, situated on lake Sacrament, which was justly considered as the bulwark of the English settlements, and the rendezvous of all the forces destined against Canada. Nature and art had conspired to block up the roads leading to that place, and to make all access impracticable. These advantages were further supported by several bodies of troops placed at proper distances in the best positions. Yet these obstacles were surmounted with such prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in history, had the scene of action lain in a more known spot. The French, after killing or dispersing all the small parties they met with, arrived before the place, and forced the garrison, consisting of 2264 men, to capitulate.

This fresh disaster roused the British. Their generals applied themselves during the winter-season to the training up of their men, and bringing the several troops under a proper discipline. They made them ex-

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ercise in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the spring, the army, consisting of 6300 regulars and 13000 militia belonging to the colonies, assembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations; and marched up to Carrillon, distant but four leagues.

That fort, which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, was not extensive enough to withstand the forces that were marching against it. They therefore quickly formed entrenchments under the cannon of the fort, with stems of trees heaped up one upon another; and in front they laid large trees, and the branches being cut and sharpened answered the purpose of chevaux de frise. The colours were planted on the top of ramparts, behind which lay 3500 men.

The English were not dismayed at these formidable appearances, being fully determined to remove the disgrace of their former miscarriages in a country where the prosperity of their trade depended on the success of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they rushed upon these palisades with the wildest fury. In vain did the French fire upon them from the top of the parapet, whilst they were unable to defend themselves. They fell upon the sharp spikes, and were entangled among the stumps and boughs through which their eagerness had made them rush. All these losses served but to increase their furious violence. It continued for upwards of four hours, and cost them above 4000 of their brave men before they would give up this rash and desperate undertaking.

They were equally unsuccessful in lesser actions. They did not insult one post without meeting with a repulse. Every party they sent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The depth of winter, which ought to have been their protection, was the very season in which the Indians and Canadians carried fire and sword to the frontiers and into the very heart of the English colonies.

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All these disasters were owing to a false principle of government. The British ministry had always entertained a notion that the superiority of their navy was alone sufficient to assert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for succours, and could easily intercept the enemy's forces.

Though experience had shewn the fallacy of these notions, the ministry did not even endeavour to diminish the ill effects of them by the choice of their generals. Almost all those who were employed in this service were deficient in point of abilities and activity.

The armies were not such as would make amends for the defects of their commanders. The troops indeed were not wanting in that daring spirit and invincible courage which is the characteristic of the British soldiers, arising from the climate, and still more from the nature of their government; but these national qualities were counterbalanced or extinguished by the hardships they underwent, in a country destitute of all the conveniences that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was made up of peaceable husbandmen, who were not inured to slaughter, like most of the French colonists, by a habit of hunting and by military ardor.

To these disadvantages, arising from the nature of things, were added others altogether owing to misconduct. The posts erected for the safety of the several English settlements, were not so contrived as to support and assist each other. The provinces having all separate interests, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in those joint efforts for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of sentiments which alone can insure the success of their measures. The season of action was wasted in vain altercations between the governors and the colonists. Every plan of operation that met with opposition from any assembly was dropped. If any one was agreed upon, it was certainly made public before the execution; and by thus divulging

it, they made it miscarry. Lastly, they were in irreconcilable enmity with the Indians.

These nations had always shewn a visible partiality for the French, in return for the kindness they had shewn them in sending missionaries, whom they considered rather as ambassadors from the prince than as sent from God. These missionaries, by studying the language of the savages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an absolute dominion over their minds. The French colonists, far from communicating the European manners, had adopted those of the country they lived in; their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their constant fondness for a wandering life.

Their strong attachment to the French was productive of the most inveterate hatred against the English. In their opinion, of all the European savages these were the hardest to tame. Their aversion soon rose to madness; and to a thirst for English blood, when they found that a reward was offered for their destruction, and that they were to be turned out of their native land by foreign assassins. The same hands which had enriched the English colony with their furs, now took up the hatchet to destroy it. The Indians pursued the English with as much eagerness as they did the wild beasts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was slaughter. They destroyed armies which the French wished only to subdue. Their fury rose to such a height, that an English prisoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A missionary Jesuit reproaching her with the atrociousness of the action, she answered him, *My children must be warriors, and therefore they must be fed with the blood of their enemies.*

C H A P. XI.

Taking of QUEBEC by the BRITISH.

SUCH was the state of things, when an English fleet entered the river St Lawrence in June 1759: No sooner was it anchored at the isle of Orleans, than eight fire-ships were sent off to consume it. Had they executed their orders, not a ship or a man would have escaped; but the captains who conducted the operation were seized with a panic. They set fire to their vessels too soon, and hurried back to land in their boats. The assailants had seen their danger at a distance, but were delivered from it by this accident, and from that moment the conquest of Canada was almost certain.

The British flag soon appeared before Quebec. The business was to land there, and to get a firm footing in the neighbourhood of the town in order to lay siege to it. But they found the banks of the river so well intrenched, and so well defended by troops and redoubts, that their first attempts were fruitless. Every landing cost them torrents of blood, without gaining any ground. They had persisted for six weeks in these unsuccessful endeavours, when at last they had the singular good fortune to land unperceived. It was on the 12th of September, an hour before break of day, three miles above the town. Their army, consisting of 6000 men, was already drawn up in order of battle, when it was attacked the next day by a corps that was weaker by one third. For some time ardour supplied the want of numbers. At last, French vivacity gave up the victory to the enemy, who had lost the intrepid Wolfe their general, but did not lose their confidence and resolution.

This was gaining a considerable advantage, but it might not have been decisive. Twelve hours would have been sufficient to collect the troops that

were posted within a few leagues of the field of battle, to join the vanquished army, and march up to the conqueror with a force superior to the former. This was the opinion of the French general Montcalm, who, being mortally wounded in the retreat, had time enough, before he expired, to think of the safety of his men, and to encourage them to repair their disaster. This generous motion was over-ruled by the council of war. They removed ten leagues off. The Chevalier de Levy, who had hastened from his post to replace Montcalm, blamed this instance of cowardice. They were ashamed of it, and wanted to recall it, and make another attempt for victory; but it was too late. Quebec, three parts destroyed by the firing from the ships, had capitulated on the 17th.

All Europe thought the taking of this place had put an end to the great contest of North America. They never imagined that a handful of Frenchmen, in want of every thing, who seemed to be in a desperate condition, would dare to think of protracting their inevitable fate. They did not know what these people were capable of doing. They hastily completed some intrenchments that had been begun ten leagues above Quebec. There they left troops sufficient to stop the progress of the enemy; and proceeded to Montreal, to concert measures to cancel their disgrace.

It was there agreed, that in the spring they should march out with an armed force against Quebec, to retake it by surprise; or if that should fail, to besiege it in form. They had nothing in readiness for that purpose; but the plan was so concerted, that they should enter upon the undertaking just at the instant when the succours they expected from France could not fail of coming.

Though the colony had long been in dreadful want of every thing, the preparatives were already made, when the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened.

a small canal. They dragged some boats over the ice, and slipped them into the water. The army, consisting of citizens and soldiers, who made but one body, and were animated with one soul, fell down this stream, with inconceivable ardour, on the 12th of April 1760. The British thought they still lay quiet in their winter quarters. The army, already landed, was just come up with an advanced guard of 1500 men posted three leagues from Quebec. This party was just upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of those unaccountable incidents which no human prudence can foresee.

A gunner, attempting to step out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and swam down the stream. As he passed by Quebec, close to the shore, he was seen by a centinel; who, observing a man in distress, called out for help. They flew to his assistance, and found him motionless. They knew him by his uniform to be a French soldier, and carried him to the governor's house, where by the help of spirituous liquors they recalled him to life for a moment. He just recovered his speech enough to tell them that an army of 10,000 French was at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately dispatched orders to the advanced guard to come within the walls with all expedition. Notwithstanding their precipitate retreat, the French had time to attack their rear. A few moments later, they would have been defeated, and the city retaken.

The assailants, however, marched on with an intrepidity which seemed as if they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a surprise. They were within a league of the town, when they were met by a body of 4000 men who were sent out to stop them. The onset was sharp, and the resistance obstinate. The English were driven back within their walls, leaving 1800 of their bravest men upon the spot, and their artillery in the enemy's hands.

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The trenches were immediately opened before Quebec; but as they had none but field-pieces, as no succours came from France, and as a strong English Squadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raise the siege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from post to post, as far as Montreal. Three formidable armies, one of which was come down, and another up the river, and a third proceeded over the lake Champlain, surrounded these troops, which were not very numerous at first, were now exceedingly reduced by frequent skirmishes and continual fatigues, and were in want both of provisions and warlike stores. These miserable remains of a body of 7000 men, who had never been recruited, and had so much signalized themselves, with the help of a few militia and a few Indians, were at last forced to capitulate, and for the whole colony. The conquest was confirmed by the treaty of peace, and this country increased the possessions of the British in North-America.

C H A P: XII.

CANADA is ceded to BRITAIN. What advantages she might derive from that possession.

THE acquisition of an immense territory is not the only advantage accruing to Great Britain from the success of her arms. The considerable population she has found there is of still greater importance. Some of these numerous inhabitants, it is true, have fled from a new dominion, which admitted no other difference among men but such as arose from personal qualities, education, fortune, or the property of being useful to society. But the emigration of these contemptible persons, whose importance was founded on nothing but barbarous custom, cannot surely have been considered as a misfortune. Would not the colony have been much benefited by getting

getting rid of that indolent nobility that had encumbered it so long, of that proud nobility that kept up the contempt for all kinds of labour? The only things necessary to make the colony prosper, are, that its lands should be cleared, its forests cut down, its iron mines worked, its fisheries extended, its industry and exportations improved.

The province of Canada has been convinced of this truth. And indeed, notwithstanding the ties of blood, language, religion, and government, which are usually so strong; notwithstanding that variety of connections and prejudices which assume so powerful an ascendant over the minds of men; the Canadians have not shewn much concern at the violent separation by which they were detached from their ancient country. They have readily concurred in the means employed by the English ministry to establish their happiness and liberty upon a solid foundation.

The laws of the English admiralty were first given them. But this innovation was scarcely perceived by them; because it scarce concerned any except the conquerors, who were in possession of all the maritime trade of the colony.

They have paid more attention to the establishment of the criminal laws of England, which was one of the most happy circumstances Canada could experience. To the impenetrable mysterious transactions of a cruel inquisition, succeeded a cool, rational, and public trial; a tribunal dreadful and accustomed to shed blood was replaced by humane judges, more disposed to acknowledge innocence than to suppose criminality.

The conquered people have been still more delighted on finding the liberty of their persons secured for ever by the famous law of Habeas Corpus. As they had too long been victims of the arbitrary wills of those who governed them, they have blessed the beneficent hand that drew them from a state of slavery, to put them under the protection of the laws.

The attention of the British ministry was afterwards

wards taken up in supplying Canada with a code of civil laws. This important work, though intrusted to able, industrious, and upright lawyers, hath not yet obtained the sanction of government. If the success answers the expectations, a colony will at last be found which will have a legislative system adapted to its climate, its population, and its labours.

Independent of these parental views, Great Britain has thought it her political interest to introduce, by secret springs, among her new subjects, an inclination for the customs, the language, the worship, and the opinions, of the mother country. This kind of analogy is, in fact, generally speaking, one of the strongest bands that can attach the colonies to the mother country. But we imagine that the present situation of things ought to have occasioned a preference to another system. Britain has at this time so much reason to be apprehensive of the spirit of independence which prevails in North America, that perhaps it would have been more for her advantage to maintain Canada in a kind of distinct state from the other provinces, rather than bring them nearer to each other by affinities which may one day unite them too closely.

However this may be, the British ministry have given the English government to Canada, so far as it was consistent with an authority entirely regal, and without any mixture of a popular administration. Their new subjects, secure from the fear of future wars, eased of the burden of defending distant posts which removed them far from their habitations, and deprived of the fur-trade which has returned into its natural channel, have only to attend to their cultures. As these advance, their intercourse with Europe and with the Caribbee islands will increase, and soon become very considerable. It will for the future be the only resource of a vast country, into which France formerly poured immense sums, considering it as the chief bulwark of her southern islands.

B O O K IV.

GENERAL
REFLECTIONS AND REMARKS
ON ALL THE COLONIES.

I.

Extent of the BRITISH dominions in NORTH
AMERICA.

THE two Floridas, part of Louisiana, and all Canada, obtained at the same æra either by conquest or treaty, have rendered Britain mistress of all that space which extends from the river of St Lawrence to the Mississippi; so that, without reckoning Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, and the other islands of North America, she is in possession of the most extensive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe. This vast territory is divided from north to south by a chain of high mountains, which, alternately receding from and approaching the coast, leave between them and the ocean a rich tract of land of an hundred and fifty, two hundred, and sometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond these Apalachian mountains is an immense desert, into which some travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues without finding an end to it. It is supposed that the rivers at the extremity of these uncultivated regions have a communication with the South Sea. If this conjecture, which is not destitute of probability, should be confirmed by experience, Britain would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the new world. By her territories, extending from one American sea to the other, she may be said to join the

the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African settlements, she freights and sends out ships to the new world. From her maritime settlements in the East she would have a direct channel to the West Indies by the Pacific ocean. She would discover those slips of land or branches of the sea, the isthmus or the strait which lies between the northern extremities of Asia and America. By the vast extent of her colonies she would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would secure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, by having the empire of all the seas, she might aspire to the supremacy of both worlds. But it is not in the destiny of any single nation to attain to such a pitch of greatness. Is then extent of dominion so flattering an object, when conquests are made only to be lost again? Let the Romans speak! Does it constitute power to possess such a share of the globe that some part shall always be enlightened by the rays of the sun, if while we reign in one world we are to languish in obscurity in the other? Let the Spaniards answer!

The English will be happy if they can preserve, by the means of culture and navigation, an empire which must ever be found too extensive when it cannot be maintained without bloodshed. But as this is the price which ambition must always pay for the success of its enterprizes, it is by commerce alone that conquests can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human industry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general is so low near the sea, that in many parts it is scarcely distinguishable from the top of the main mast, even after bringing in fourteen fathom, yet the coast is very easy of access, because the depth diminishes insensibly as you advance. From this circumstance it is easy to determine exactly by the line the distance of the main land. Besides this, the mariner has another sign, which is the appearance of trees, that, seeming

ing to arise out of the sea, form an enchanting object to his view upon a shore which presents roads and harbours without number for the reception and preservation of shipping.

The productions of the earth arise in great abundance from a soil newly cleared; but in return they are a long time coming to maturity. Many plants are even so late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while, on our continent, both the fruit and the seed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What should be the cause of this phenomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fishery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the shade of these forests grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted the species of manure the summer came on; and nature, left entirely to herself, continued heaping incessantly upon each other these effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long course of time, became accustomed to a slow vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to subdue this habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the dispositions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate, so long unknown or neglected by mankind, presents them with advantages which supply the defects and ill consequences of that omission.

II.

TREES peculiar to NORTH AMERICA.

IT produces almost all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has also others peculiar to itself; among these are the sugar maple, and the candle-
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berry myrtle. The candleberry myrtle is a shrub which delights in a moist soil; and is, therefore, seldom found at any distance from the sea. Its seeds are covered with a white powder, which looks like flour. When they are gathered towards the end of autumn, and put into boiling water, there arises a viscuous body, which swims at the top, and is skimmed off. As soon as this is come to a consistence, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a second time; when it becomes transparent, and of an agreeable green.

This substance, which in quality and consistence is a medium between tallow and wax, supplied the place of both to the first Europeans that landed in this country. The dearth of it has occasioned it to be the less used, in proportion as the number of domestic animals hath increased. Nevertheless, as it burns slower than tallow, is less subject to melt, and has not that disagreeable smell, it is still preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate price. The property of giving light is, of all its uses, the least valuable. It serves to make excellent soap and plasters for wounds: it is even employed for the purpose of sealing letters. The sugar maple does not merit less attention than the candleberry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

This tree, whose nature it is to flourish by the side of streams, or in marshy places, grows to the height of an oak. In the month of March, an incision of the depth of three or four inches is made in the lower part of the trunk. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice, that flows from it, is conveyed into a vessel placed to receive it. The young trees are so full of this liquor, that in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford less, but of a much better quality. No more than one incision or two at most can be made without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes are applied, it soon dies.

The sap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to sugar, they evaporate it by fire,

fire, till it has acquired the consistence of a thick syrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware or bark of the birch-tree. The syrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of sugar, almost transparent, and pleasant enough to the taste. To give it a whiteness, they sometimes mix up flour with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of sugar is used for the same purposes as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of sugar, so that it can be of no great use in trade.

III.

BIRDS peculiar to NORTH AMERICA.

AMIDST the multitude of birds which inhabit the forests of North America, there is one extremely singular in its kind. This is the humming bird; a species of which, on account of its smallness, is called by the French *Poiseau mouche*, or the fly-bird. Its beak is long, and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft, of incomparable beauty. Its breast is of a rose colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail, are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it so delicate a cast, that it resembles a velvet flower, whose beauty fades on the slightest touch.

The spring is the only season for this charming bird. Its nest, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outside with a grey and greenish moss, and on the inside lined with a very soft down gathered from yellow flowers. This nest is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it, about the size of the smallest peas. Many attempts have been made

to rear the young ones ; but they have never lived more than three weeks, or a month at most.

The humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itself in the calix of the largest flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noise like that of a spinning-wheel. When it is tired, it lights upon the nearest tree or stake ; rests a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithstanding its weakness, it does not appear timid ; but will suffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

Who would imagine, that so diminutive an animal could be malicious, passionate, and quarrelsome ? They are often seen fighting together with great fury and obstinacy. The strokes they give with their beak are so sudden and so quick, that they are not distinguishable by the eye. Their wings move with such agility, that they seem not to move at all. They are more heard than seen ; and their noise resembles that of a sparrow.

These little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves asunder. The precipitation, with which they peck it, betrays, as it is said, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stripped of all their leaves by the fury of the fly-birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of resentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unnecessarily destructive instinct.

North America formerly was devoured by insects. As the air was not yet purified, nor the ground cleared, nor the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, these little animals destroyed without opposition all the productions of nature. None of them was useful to mankind. There is only one at present, which is the bee : but this is supposed to have been carried from the old to the new world. The savages call it, the *English fly* ; and it is only found near the coasts. These circumstances announce it to be of foreign

reign original. The bees fly in numerous swarms through the forests of the new world. They increase every day. Their honey is employed to several uses. Many persons make it their food. The wax becomes daily a more considerable branch of trade.

IV.

The ENGLISH supply NORTH AMERICA with domestic animals.

THE bee is not the only present which Europe has had in her power to make to America. She has enriched her also with a breed of domestic animals; for the savages had none. America had not yet associated beasts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither in their ships several of our species of domestic animals. They have multiplied there prodigiously; but all of them, excepting the hog, whose whole merit consists in fattening himself, have lost much of that strength and size which they enjoyed in those countries from whence they were brought. The oxen, horses, and sheep, have degenerated in the northern British colonies, though the particular kinds of each had been chosen with great precaution.

Without doubt, it is the climate, the nature of the air and the soil, which has prevented the success of their transplantation. These animals, as well as the men, were at first attacked by epidemical disorders. If the contagion did not, as in the men, affect the principles of generation in them, several species of them at least were with much difficulty reproduced. Each generation fell short of the last; and as it happens to American plants in Europe, European cattle continually degenerated in America. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable species, to grow and flourish in its native soil. The love of their own country seems an

ordinance of nature prescribed to all beings, like the desire of preserving their existence.

V.

EUROPEAN Grain carried into NORTH AMERICA by the ENGLISH.

YET there are certain correspondences of climate which form exceptions to the general rule against transporting animals and plants. When the English first landed on the North American continent, the wandering inhabitants of those desolate regions had scarcely arrived at the cultivation of a small quantity of maize. This species of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only one known in the new world. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The savages contented themselves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a stick, and throwing into each of them a single grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or stone mortar, and made it into a paste, which they baked under embers. They ate it boiled, or toasted merely upon the coals.

The maize has many advantages. Its leaves are useful in feeding cattle; a circumstance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, sandy soil agrees best with this plant. The seed may be frozen in the spring two or three times without impairing the harvest. In short, it is of all plants the one that is least injured by the excess of drought or moisture.

These causes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the English to preserve and even promote it in their settlements. They sold it to Portugal, to South America, and the sugar islands, and had sufficient for their own use.

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They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains ; all of which succeeded, though not so perfectly as in their native soil. With the superfluity of their harvests, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of the forests, the colonists formed a trade with all the wealthiest and most populous provinces of the new world.

The mother country, finding that her northern colonies had supplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would soon become her rivals even in Europe at all the markets for salt and corn, endeavoured to divert their industry to objects that might be more useful to her. She wanted neither motives nor means to bring about this purpose, and had soon an opportunity to carry it into execution.

VI.

The ENGLISH find the necessity of having their naval stores from AMERICA.

THE greatest part of the pitch and tar the English wanted for their fleets, used to be furnished by Sweden. In 1703, that state was so blind to its true interest, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the restrictions of an exclusive patent. The first effect of this monopoly was a sudden and unnatural increase of price. England, taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged by considerable premiums the importation of all sorts of naval stores which North America could furnish.

These rewards did not immediately produce the effect that was expected from them. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented both the mother country and the colonies from giving to this infant revolution of commerce the attention which it merited. The northern nations,

tions, whose interests were united, taking this inaction, which was only occasioned by the hurry of a war, for an absolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay upon the exportation of marine stores every restrictive clause that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this end, they entered into mutual engagements, which were made public in 1718, a time when all the maritime powers still felt the effects of a war that had continued fourteen years.

England was alarmed by so odious a convention. She dispatched to America men of sufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how necessary it was for them to assist the views of the mother country; and of sufficient experience to direct their first attempts towards great objects, without making them pass through those minute details, which quickly extinguish an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very short time such quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards and masts, were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that she was enabled to supply the nations around her.

This sudden success blinded the British government. The cheapness of the commodities furnished by the colonies, in comparison of those which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage which seemed to insure a constant preference. Upon this the ministry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total stop ensued in this branch of trade, and made them sensible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which, tho' they were not laid so high as formerly, were sufficient to give to the vent of American stores the greatest superiority, at least in England, over those of the northern nations.

The woods, though they constituted the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother country. The produce

duce of them had long been exported by the English to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uses. As these traders did not take in return merchandise sufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice with the Hamburgers, and even the Dutch, to import on their bottoms the produce of the most fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export and carrying had considerably augmented the British navy. The parliament, being informed of this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all those duties of importation, which Russian, Swedish, and Danish timber are subject to. This first favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the same time that it comprehended every species of wood in general, was principally calculated for those which are employed in ship-building. An advantage, so considerable in itself as this was, would have been greatly improved, if the colonies had built among themselves vessels proper for transporting cargoes of such weight; if they had made wood-yards, from which they might have furnished complete freights; and, finally, if they had abolished the custom of burning in the spring the leaves which had fallen in the preceeding autumn. This foolish practice destroys all the young trees, that are beginning in that season to shoot out; and leaves only the old ones, which are too rotten for use. It is notorious, that vessels constructed in America, or with American materials, last but a very short time. This inconvenience may arise from several causes; but that which has just been mentioned merits the greater attention, as it may be easily remedied. Besides timber and masts for ships, America is capable of furnishing likewise sails and rigging, by the cultivation of hemp and flax.

The French protestants, who, when driven from their country by a victorious prince fallen into a state of bigotry, carried their national industry every where
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into the countries of his enemies, taught England the value of two commodities of the utmost importance to a maritime power. Both flax and hemp were cultivated with some success in Scotland and Ireland. Yet the manufactures of the nation were chiefly supplied with both from Russia. To put a stop to this foreign importation, it was proposed to grant a bounty to North America of 6*l.* for every ton of these articles. But habit, which is an enemy to all novelties, however useful, prevented the colonists at first from being allured by this bait. They are since reconciled to it; and the produce of their flax and hemp serves to keep at home a considerable part of 1,968,750*l.* which went annually out of Great Britain for the purchase of foreign linens. It may, perhaps, in time be improved so far as to be equal to the whole demand of the kingdom, and even to supplant other nations in all the markets. A soil entirely fresh, which costs nothing, does not stand in need of manure, is intersected by navigable rivers, and may be cultivated by slaves, affords ground for immense expectations. To the timber and canvas requisite for shipping we have yet to add iron. The northern parts of America furnish this commodity, to assist in acquiring the gold and silver which so abundantly flow in the southern.

VII.

ENGLAND begins to get Iron from NORTH AMERICA.

THIS most useful of metals, so necessary to mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till the Europeans taught them the most fatal use of it, that of making weapons. The English themselves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had lavished on the continent where they were settled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mother

ther country by being clogged with enormous duties: The proprietors of the national mines, aided by those of the coppice woods, which are used in the working of them, had procured imposts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and sophistry, these enemies to the public good had stifled a competition, which would have been fatal to their interests. At length the government took the first steps towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into the port of London was granted duty-free; but at the same time it was forbid to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles inland. This whimsical restriction continued till 1757. At that time the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance so manifestly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted exclusively to the capital.

Though nothing could be more reasonable than this demand, it met with the strongest opposition. Combinations of interested individuals were formed to represent, that the hundred and nine forges wrought in England, not reckoning those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thousand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension prevailed that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England consumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of underwood, and that those woods furnished moreover bark for the tanneries and materials for ship-building; and that the American iron, not being proper for steel for making sharp instruments or many of the utensils of navigation, would contribute very little to lessen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a stop to the forges of Great Britain.

These groundless representations had no weight with

with the parliament, who saw clearly, that, unless the price of the original materials could be lessened, the nation would soon lose the numberless manufactures of iron and steel, by which it had so long been enriched, and that there was no time to be lost in putting a stop to the progress other nations by their industry had made in it. It was therefore resolved, that the free importation of iron from America should be permitted in all the ports of England. This wise resolution was accompanied with an act of justice. The proprietors of coppices were by a statute of Henry VIII. forbidden to clear their lands: the parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make such use of their estates as they should think proper.

Previous to these regulations, Great Britain used to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden, and Russia, 437,500*l.* for the iron she purchased of them. This tribute is greatly lessened, and will lessen still more. The ore is found in such quantities in America, and is so easily separated from the ground, that the English do not despair of having it in their power to furnish Portugal, Turkey, Africa, the East Indies, and every country in the world with which they have any commercial connections.

Perhaps the English may be too sanguine in their representations of the advantages they expect from so many articles of importance to their navy. But it is sufficient for them, if by the assistance of their colonies they can free themselves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe have hitherto kept them with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Formerly their operations might have been prevented, or at least interrupted, by a refusal of the necessary materials. From this time nothing will be able to check their natural ardour for the dominion of the sea, which alone can insure to them the empire of the new world.

VIII.

ENGLAND endeavours to procure Wine and Silk from NORTH AMERICA.

AFTER having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, superior to that of every other nation; England has adopted every measure that can contribute to her enjoyment of this species of conquest she has made in America, less by the force of her arms than of her industry. By bounties, judiciously bestowed, she has succeeded so far as to draw annually from that country twenty millions weight of potashes. The greatest progress has been made in the cultivation of rice, indigo, and tobacco. In proportion as the settlements, from their natural tendency, stretched further towards the south, fresh projects and enterprises suitable to the nature of the soil suggested themselves. In the temperate and in the hot climates, the several productions were expected which necessarily reward the labours of the cultivator. Wine was the only article that seemed to be wanting to the new hemisphere; and the English, who have none in Europe, were eager to produce some in America.

Upon that immense continent the English are in possession of, are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, differing in colour, size, and quantity, but all of a sour and disagreeable flavour. It was supposed that good management would give these plants that perfection which unassisted nature had denied them; and French vine-dressers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impositions took away their inclination to labour by depriving them of the fruits of their industry. The repeated experiments they made both with American and European plants, were all equally unsuccessful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and almost impossible to be preserved

in a hot climate. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moist and hot vapours; the seasons were too unsettled, and the insects too numerous near the forests to suffer a production to expand and prosper, of which the British, and all other nations who have it not, are so ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, tho' it will be long first, when their colonies will furnish them with a beverage, which they envy and purchase from France, repining inwardly that they are obliged to contribute towards enriching a rival, whom they are anxious to ruin. This disposition is cruel. Britain has other more gentle and more honourable means of attaining that prosperity she is ambitious of. Her emulation may be better and more usefully exerted on an article now cultivated in each of the four quarters of the globe: this is silk! the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digested in its entrails; silk! that double prodigy of nature and of art.

A very considerable sum of money is annually exported from Great Britain for the purchase of this rich production; which gave rise about thirty years ago to a plan for obtaining silk from Carolina. The mildness of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry-trees, seemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the government to attract some Switzers into the colony, were more successful than could have been expected. Yet the progress of this branch of trade has not been answerable to so promising a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants of the colony, who buying only negro men, from whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who with their children might have been employed in bringing up silk-worms, an occupation suitable to the weakness of that sex, and to the tenderest age. But it ought to have been considered, that men coming from another hemisphere into a rude uncultivated country, would apply their first care to the cultivation of es-
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culent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate necessity. This is the natural and constant proceeding of well-governed states. From agriculture, which is the source of population, they rise to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nourish commerce, which is the child of industry and father of wealth. The time is perhaps come, when Britain may employ whole colonies in the cultivation of silk. This is, at least, the national opinion. On the 18th of April 1769, the parliament granted a bounty of 25 *per cent.* for seven years on all raw silks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 *per cent.* for seven years following, and for seven years after that a bounty of 15 *per cent.* If this encouragement produces such improvements as may reasonably be expected from it, the next step undoubtedly will be the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, which seem particularly adapted to the climate and soil of the British colonies. There are not, perhaps, any rich productions either in Europe or Asia, but what may be transplanted and cultivated with success on the vast continent of North America, as soon as population shall have provided hands in proportion to the extent and fertility of so rich a territory. The great object of the mother country at present is the peopling of her colonies.

IX.

What kind of Men BRITAIN peoples her North American Colonies with.

THE first persons who landed in this desert and savage region were Englishmen who had been persecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

It was not to be expected that this first emigration would be attended with important consequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are so strongly attached

to their native soil, that nothing less than civil wars or revolutions can induce those among them who have any property, character, or industry, to a change of climate and country; for which reason the re-establishment of public tranquillity in Europe was likely to put an unfurmountable bar to the progress of American cultivation.

Add to this, that the English, though naturally active, ambitious, and enterprising, were ill-adapted to the business of clearing the grounds. Accustomed to a quiet life, ease, and many conveniences, nothing but the enthusiasm of religion or politics could support them under the labours, miseries, wants, and calamities, inseparable from new plantations.

It is further to be observed, that though England might have been able to overcome these difficulties, it was not a desirable object for her. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flourishing, and enriching herself with their productions, was an advantageous prospect to her; but those advantages would be dearly purchased at the expence of her own population.

Happily for her, the intolerant and despotic spirit, that swayed most countries of Europe, forced numberless victims to take refuge in an uncultivated tract, which, in its state of desolation, seemed to implore that assistance for itself which it offered to the unfortunate. These men, who had escaped from the rod of tyranny, in crossing the seas, abandoned all hopes of return, and attached themselves for ever to a country which at the same time afforded them an asylum and an easy quiet subsistence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes flocked from different parts to partake of it. Nor has this eagerness abated, particularly in Germany, where nature produces men for the purposes either of conquering or cultivating the earth. It will even increase. The advantage granted to emigrants throughout the British dominions of being naturalized by a residence of seven years in the colonies, sufficiently warrants this prediction.

While

While tyranny and persecution were destroying population in Europe, British America was beginning to be peopled with three sorts of inhabitants. The first class consists of freemen. It is the most numerous ; but hitherto it has visibly degenerated. The Creoles in general, though habituated to the climate from their cradle, are not so robust and fit for labour, nor so powerful in war, as the Europeans ; whether it be that they have not the improvements of education, or that they are softened by nature. In that foreign clime the mind is enervated as well as the body : endued with a quickness and early penetration, it easily apprehends, but wants steadiness, and is not used to continued thought. It must be a matter of astonishment to find that America has not yet produced a good poet, an able mathematician, or a man of genius in any single art or science. They possess in general a readiness for acquiring the knowledge of every art or science, but not one of them shews any decisive talent for one in particular. More early advanced at first, and arriving at a state of maturity sooner than we do, they are much behind us in the later part of life.

Perhaps it will be said, that their population is not very numerous in comparison with that of all Europe together ; that they want aids, masters, models, instruments, emulation in the arts and sciences ; that education with them is too much neglected, or too little improved. But we may observe, that in proportion we see more persons in America of good birth, of an easy competent fortune, with a greater share of leisure and of other means of improving their natural abilities, than are found in Europe, where even the very method of training up youth is often repugnant to the progress and unfolding of reason and genius. Is it possible, that although the Creoles educated with us have every one of them good sense, or at least the most part of them, yet not one should have arisen to any great degree of perfection in the slightest pursuit ; and that among such as have staid

in their own country, no one has distinguished himself by a confirmed superiority in those talents which lead to fame? Has nature, then, punished them for having crossed the ocean? Are they a race of people degenerated by transplanting, by growth, and by mixture? Will not time be able to reduce them to the nature of their climate? Let us beware of pronouncing on futurity, before we have the experience of several centuries. Let us wait till a more ample burst of light has shone over the new hemisphere. Let us wait till education may have corrected the unsurmountable tendency of the climate towards the enervating pleasures of luxury and sensuality. Perhaps we shall then see that America is propitious to genius and the arts, that give birth to peace and society. A new Olympus, an Arcadia, an Athens, a new Greece, will produce, perhaps, on the continent, or in the Archipelago that surrounds it, another Homer, a Theocritus, and especially an Anacreon. Perhaps another Newton is to arise in New Britain. From British America, without doubt, will proceed the first rays of the sciences, if they are at length to break through a sky so long time clouded. By a singular contrast with the old world, in which the arts have travelled from the south towards the north, in the new one the north will be found to enlighten the southern parts. Let the British clear the ground, purify the air, alter the climate, improve nature, and a new universe will arise out of their hands for the glory and happiness of humanity. But it is necessary that they should take steps conformable to this noble design, and aim by just and laudable means to form a population fit for the creation of a new world. This is what they have not yet done.

The second class of their colonists was formerly composed of malefactors which the mother country transported after condemnation to America, and who were bound to a servitude of seven or fourteen years to the planters who had purchased them out of the hands of justice. The disgust is grown universal
against

against these corrupt men, always disposed to commit fresh crimes.

These have been replaced by indigent persons, whom the impossibility of subsisting in Europe has driven into the new world. Having embarked without being capable of paying for their passage, these wretches are at the disposal of their captain, who sells them to whom he pleases.

This sort of slavery is for a longer or shorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If among these emigrants there are any who are not of age, their servitude lasts till they arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

None of those who are contracted for have a right to marry without the approbation of their master, who sets what price he chuses on his consent. If any one of them runs away, and he is retaken, he is to serve a week for each day's absence, a month for every week, and six months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deserted from his service, may sell him to whom he pleases, but only for the term of his first contract. Besides, neither the service, nor the sale, carry any ignominy with it. At the end of his servitude, the contracted person enjoys all the rights of a free denizen. With his freedom he receives from the master whom he has served, either implements for husbandry, or utensils proper for his work.

But with whatever appearance of justice this species of traffic may be coloured, the greatest part of the strangers who go over to America under these conditions, would never set their foot on board a ship, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland spread themselves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany which are the best peopled or least happy. There they set forth with raptures the delights of the new world, and the fortunes easily acquired in that country. The simple men seduced, by these magnificent

ficent promises, blindly follow these infamous brokers engaged in this scandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amsterdam or Rotterdam. These, either in pay with the British government, or with companies who have undertaken to stock the colonies with people, give a gratuity to the men employed in this service. Whole families are sold, without their knowledge, to masters at a distance, who impose the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and necessity do not permit the sufferers to give a refusal. The British form their supplies of men for husbandry as princes do for war; for a purpose more useful and more humane, but by the same artifices. The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by the attention paid to the suppressing of all correspondence with America, which might unvail a mystery of imposture and iniquity too well disguised by the interested principles which gave rise to it.

But, in short, there would not be so many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppression of government which makes these chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds, or contemptible at home, having nothing worse to fear in a foreign climate, easily give themselves up to the hope of a better lot. The means used to retain them in a country where chance has given him birth, are fit only to excite in them a desire to quit it. It is imagined that they are to be under the constant restraint of prohibitions, menaces, and punishments: these do but exasperate them, and drive them to desertion by the very forbiddance of it. They should be attached by soothing means; by fair expectations; whereas they are imprisoned, and bound: man, born free, is restrained from attempting to exist in regions where heaven and earth offer him an asylum. It has been thought better to stifle him in his cradle than to let him seek for his living in some climate that is ready to give him succour. It is not judged

judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! these are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

It is then become necessary to lay open to the nations the schemes that are formed against their liberty? Must they be told, that, by a conspiracy of the most odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which must deprive even despair itself of every resource? For these two centuries past, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating among them in the secret recesses of the cabinet that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompassed on every side. At every negotiation fresh links were added to the chain so artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make states more extensive, but subjects more submissive, by gradually substituting military government in lieu of the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The several potentates have all equally strengthened themselves in their tyranny by their conquests or by their losses. When they were victorious, they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the misery of their pusillanimous subjects; whether ambition made them competitors or adversaries, they entered into league or alliance only to aggravate the servitude of the people. If they chose to kindle war, or maintain peace, they were sure to turn to the advantage of their authority either the raising or debasing of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhausted every other to recover it, in order to make amends for their loss. If they acquired a new one, the haughtiness they affected out of it, was the occasion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another by turns every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur sometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalry, sometimes to obliterate the character of the nations, as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to subject the nations;

tions ; one by means of another, to the despotism they had constantly been preparing for them. Ye people who all groan more or less secretly, doubt not of your condition ; those who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear of you. In the extremity of wretchedness, one single resource remained for you ; that of escape and emigration.—Even that has been shut against you.

Princes have agreed among themselves to restore to one another not only deserters, who for the most part, inlisted by compulsion or by fraud, have a good right to escape ; not only rogues, who in reality ought not to find a refuge any where ; but indifferently all their subjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

Thus all you unhappy labourers, who find neither subsistence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance ; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born, ye have no refuge but under ground. All ye artists and workmen of every class harrassed by monopolists, who are refused the right of working at your own free disposal, without having purchased the privileges of your calling ; ye who are kept for your whole life in the work-shop, for the purpose of enriching a privileged factor ; ye whom a court-mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages ; never expect to live out of a country where soldiers and guards keep you imprisoned ; go wander in despair, and die of regret. If ye venture to groan, your cries will be re-echoed and lost in the depth of a dungeon ; if ye make your escape, ye will be pursued even beyond mountains and rivers : ye will be sent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture ; and to that eternal restraint to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewise, whom nature has endowed with a free spirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you
 erase

eraze from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity. Applaud every attack made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or else maintain a profound silence in the recesses of obscurity and concealment. All ye who were born in those barbarous states, where the condition for the mutual restoration of deserters has been entered into by the several princes, and sealed by a treaty; recollect the inscription Dante has engraved on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, lasciate omai ogni speranza*: "You who enter here, may leave behind you every hope."

What! is there then no asylum remaining beyond the seas? Will not Britain open her colonies to those wretches, who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the insupportable yoke of their own country? What need has she of that infamous band of contracted slaves, kidnapped and debauched by the shameful means employed by every state to increase their armies? What need has she of those beings still more miserable, of whom she composes the third part of her American population? Yes, by an iniquity the more shocking as it is apparently the less necessary, her northern colonies have had recourse to the traffic and slavery of the negroes. It will not be disowned, that they may be better fed, better clothed, less ill treated, and less overburdened with toil, than in the islands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they seldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But still what must be the burden of a man's life who is condemned to languish in eternal slavery? Some humane sectaries, Christians who look for virtues in the gospel more than for opinions, have often been desirous of restoring to their slaves that liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compensation; but they have been a long time withheld by a law of the state, which directed that an assignment of a sufficiency for subsistence should be made to those who were set at liberty.

Let

Let us rather say, The convenient custom of being waited on by slaves; the fondness we have for power, which we attempt to justify by pretending to alleviate their servitude; the opinion so readily entertained, that they do not complain of a state which is by time changed into nature; these are the sophisms of self-love, calculated to appease the clamours of conscience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil dispositions, or prone to do ill by choice; but even among those whom nature seems to have formed just and good, there are but few who possess a soul sufficiently disinterested, courageous, and great, to do any good action, if they must sacrifice some advantage for it.

But still the quakers have just set an example which ought to make an epocha in the history of religion and humanity. In one of these assemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himself moved by the impulse of the holy Spirit, has a right of speaking; one of the brethren, who was himself undoubtedly inspired on this occasion, arose and said: "How long then shall we have two consciences, two measures, two scales; one in our own favour, one for the ruin of our neighbour, both equally false? Is it for us, brethren, to complain at this moment, that the parliament of Britain wishes to enslave us, and to impose upon us the yoke of subjects, without leaving us the rights of citizens; while for this century past, we have been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by keeping in bonds of the hardest slavery men who are our equals and our brethren? What have those unhappy creatures done to us, whom nature hath separated from us by barriers so formidable, whom our avarice has sought after through storms and wrecks, and brought away from the midst of their burning sands, or from their dark forests inhabited by tygers? What crime have they been guilty of, that they should be torn from a country which fed them without toil, and that they should be
"transplant-

"transplanted by us to a land where they perish
 "under the labours of servitude? Father of hea-
 "ven, what family hast Thou then created, in which
 "the elder born, after having seized on the proper-
 "ty of their brethren, are still resolved to compel
 "them, with stripes, to manure with the blood of
 "their veins and the sweat of their brow that very
 "inheritance of which they have been robbed? De-
 "plorable race! whom we render brutes, to tyran-
 "nize over them; in whom we extinguish every
 "power of the soul, to load their limbs and their
 "bodies with burdens; in whom we efface the
 "image of God, and the stamp of manhood: a
 "race mutilated and dishonoured as to the faculties
 "of mind and body, throughout its existence, by
 "us who are Christians and Britons! Britons, ye
 "people favoured by Heaven, and respected on the
 "seas, would ye be free and tyrants at the same in-
 "stant? No, brethren: it is time we should be con-
 "sistent with ourselves. Let us set free those miser-
 "able victims of our pride: let us restore the ne-
 "groes to liberty, which man should never take
 "from man. May all Christian societies be induced
 "by our example to repair an injustice authorised
 "by the crimes and plunders of two centuries!
 "May men too long degraded, at length raise to
 "Heaven their arms freed from chains, and their
 "eyes bathed in tears of gratitude! Alas! the un-
 "happy mortals have hitherto shed no tears but
 "those of despair!"

This discourse awakened remorse, and the slaves in
 Pennsylvania were set at liberty. A revolution so
 amazing must necessarily have been the work of a
 people inclined to toleration. But let us not expect
 similar instances of heroism in those countries which
 are as deep sunk in barbarism by the vices attendant
 on luxury, as they have formerly been from ignorance.
 When a government, at once both priestly and mili-
 tary, has brought every thing, even the opinions of
 men, under its yoke; when man, become an impor-
 tant,

stor, has persuaded the armed multitude that he holds from Heaven the right of oppressing the earth; there is no shadow of liberty left for civilized nations: Why should they not take their revenge on the savage people of the torrid zone?

X.

Present state of Population in the BRITISH
Provinces of NORTH AMERICA.

NOT to mention the population of the negroes, which may amount to 300,000 slaves, in 1750 a million of inhabitants were reckoned in the British provinces of North America. There must be now upwards of two millions; as it is proved by undeniable calculations, that the number of people doubles every 15 or 16 years in some of those provinces, and every 18 or 20 in others. So rapid an increase must have two sources. The first is that number of Irishmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, who, after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in search of peace and quietness in distant climates. The second source of that amazing increase is from the climate itself of the colonies, where experience has shewn that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five and twenty years. Mr Franklin's remarks will make these truths evident.

The numbers of the people, says that philosopher, increase every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increases as the means of subsisting a family are rendered more easy. In a country where the means of subsistence abound, more people marry early. In a society, whose prosperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich, alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, are as late as possible in forming an establishment,
which

which it is difficult to fix, and whose maintenance is costly; and the persons who have no fortunes pass their days in a celibacy which disturbs the married state. The masters have but few children, the servants have none at all, and the artificers are afraid of having any. This irregularity is so perceptible, especially in great towns, that families are not kept up sufficiently to maintain population in an even state, and that we constantly find there more deaths than births. Happily for us, that decay has not yet penetrated into the country, where the constant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns gives a little more scope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the highest rate, those who cannot arrive at property of their own, are hired by those who have property. Rivalship, owing to the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour; and the smallness of their profits takes away the desire and the hope, as well as the abilities requisite for increase by marriage. Such is the present state of Europe.

That of America presents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waste and uncultivated, are to be had, either for nothing; or so cheap, that a man of the least turn for labour, is furnished in a short time with an extent, which, while it is sufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his posterity for a considerable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the new world, induced likewise by the climate, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married state in Europe, there are two hundred in America; and if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we should allow, at least, eight in the new hemisphere. If we multiply these families by their produce, it will appear that in less than two centuries the British northern colonies will arrive at an immense degree of population, unless the mother country contrive some obstacles to impede its natural progress.

XI.

Happiness of the Inhabitants in the BRITISH
Colonies of NORTH AMERICA.

THEY are now peopled with healthy and robust men, of a stature above the common size. These Creoles are more quick, and come to their full growth sooner, than the Europeans: but they are not so long-lived. The low price of meat, fish, grain, game, fruits, cyder, vegetables, keeps the inhabitants in a great plenty of things merely for nourishment. It is necessary to be more careful with respect to clothing, which is still very dear, whether brought from Europe, or made in the country. Manners are in the state they should be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, not yet polished nor corrupted by the resort of great cities. Throughout the families in general, there reigns oeconomy, neatness, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the passions of easy wealth, seldom break in upon that happy tranquillity. The sex are still what they should be, gentle, modest, compassionate, and useful; they are in possession of those virtues which continue the empire of their charms. The men are employed in their original duties, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the support of their posterity. The general sentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union so much as a certain equality of station, a security that arises from property, a general hope which every man has of increasing it, and the facility of succeeding in this expectation; in a word, nothing contributes to it so much as the reciprocal independence in which all men live, with respect to their wants, joined to the necessity of social connections for the purposes of their pleasures. Instead of luxury, which brings misery in its train, instead of that
afflicting

afflicting and shocking tract, an universal welfare, wisely dealt out in the original distribution of the lands, has by the influence of industry given rise in every breast to the desire of pleasing one another; a desire, without doubt, more satisfactory than the secret disposition to injure our brethren, which is inseparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without satisfaction when they are neither in that state of mutual distance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalry which borders on hatred. They come nearer together, and collect in societies. In short, it is in the colonies that men lead such a country-life as was the original destination of mankind, best suited to the health and increase of the species: probably, they enjoy all the happiness consistent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there those graces, those talents, those refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the springs of the soul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy which so naturally follow an indulgence in ardent pleasure: but there are the pleasures of domestic life; the mutual attachments of parent and children; and conjugal love, that passion so pure and so delicious to the soul that can taste it and despise all other gratifications. This is the enchanting prospect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida, and Virginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to love, their whole life long, what was the object of their first affection, innocence and virtue, which never entirely lose their beauty.

If any thing be wanting in British America, it is its not forming precisely one people. Families are there found sometimes re-united, sometimes dispersed, originating from all the different countries of Europe. These colonists, in what ever spot chance or discernment may have placed them, all preserve, with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother-tongue, the partialities and the customs of their own country. Separate schools and churches hinder them

from mixing with the hospitable people, who hold out to them a place of refuge. Still estranged from this people by worship, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour seeds of dissention that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preservative against this disaster depends entirely on the management of the ruling powers.

XII.

What kind of Government is established in the
BRITISH Colonies of NORTH AMERICA.

BY ruling powers must not be understood those strange constitutions of Europe, which are a rude mixture of sacred and profane laws. British America was wise or happy enough not to admit any ecclesiastical power: being from the beginning inhabited by Presbyterians, she rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs that in the other parts of the globe depend on the tribunal of priests, are here brought before the civil magistrate or the national assemblies. The attempts made by those of the English church to establish their hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithstanding the support given by the mother country: but still they have their share in the administration of business as well as those of other sects. None but catholics have been excluded, on account of their refusing those oaths which the public tranquillity seemed to require. In this view American government has deserved great commendation; but in other respects, it is not so well combined.

Policy, in its aim and principal object, resembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and should be similar to each other in many respects. Savage people, first united in Society, require as much as children, to be sometimes led on by gentle means, and sometimes restrained by compulsion.

For

For want of experience, which alone forms our reason, as they are incapable of governing themselves throughout the changes of things, and the various concerns that belong to a rising society, government should be enlightened with regard to them, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Just so barbarous nations are under the rod, and as it were in the leading strings of despotism, till in the advance of society their interests teach them to conduct themselves.

Civilized nations, like young men, more or less advanced not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as soon as they come to their own strength, and their own pretensions, require being managed and even respected by their governors. A son well educated should engage in no undertaking without consulting his father; a prince, on the contrary, should make no regulations without consulting his people. Further, the son, in resolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happiness; in all that a prince ordains, the happiness of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and speaks, is the rule of the government; and the prince should never shock that opinion without public reasons, nor strive against it without conviction. Government is to model all its forms according to that opinion: opinion, it is well known, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may, without finding the least resistance, do an act of authority, not to be revived by his successor without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference arise? The predecessor cannot have shocked an opinion that was not sprung up in his time, while a succeeding prince may have openly counteracted it a century later. The first, if I may be allowed the expression, without the knowledge of the public, may have taken a step whose violence he may have softened or made amends for by the happy success of his government; the other shall, perhaps, have increased the public calamities by such unjust

unjust acts of wilful authority as may perpetuate its first abuses. Public remonstrance is generally the cry of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government; and because public opinion governs mankind, kings for this reason became rulers of men. Governments then, as well as opinions, ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent interest of society, the safety and advantage of the nation. This interest is modified by the turn of events and situations; public opinion and the form of the government follow these several modifications. This is the source of all the forms of government, established by the English, who are rational and free, throughout North America.

The government of Nova Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, is styled *royal*, because the king of England is there vested with the supreme authority. Representatives of the people form a lower house, as in the mother country: a select council, approved by the king, intended to support the prerogatives of the crown, represents the house of peers and maintains that representation by the fortune and rank of the most distinguished persons in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and dissolves their assemblies; gives or refuses assent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the king, to whom they are transmitted, has rejected them.

The second kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is known by the name of *proprietary government*. When the English first settled in those distant regions, a greedy, active court-favourite easily obtained in those wastes, which were as large as kingdoms, a property and authority without bounds. A bow and a few skins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchased for a man in power the right of sovereignty, or governing as he pleased, in an un-

known

known country : such was the origin of government in the greater part of the colonies. At present Maryland and Pennsylvania are the only provinces under this singular form of government, or rather this irregular foundation of sovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the rest of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whose nomination is to be approved by the king. In Pennsylvania, the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not supported by a council which gives a kind of superiority ; and he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally vested all authority.

A third form, styled by the English, *charter government*, seems more calculated to adduce harmony in the constitution. After having been that of all the provinces of New England, it now subsists only in Connecticut and in Rhode island. It may be considered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themselves elect, depose all their officers, and make all laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the assent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

At length the conquest of Canada, joined to the acquisition of Florida, has given rise to a form of legislation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of Great Britain. Those provinces have been put or left under the yoke of military, and consequently absolute, authority. Without any right to assemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every motion of government.

This diversity of governments is not the work of the mother country. We do not find the traces of a reasonable, uniform, and regular legislation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times and of the founders of the colonies, that have produced this motely variety of constitutions. It is not for men, who are cast by chance upon a desert coast, to constitute a legislation.

All legislation in its nature, should aim at the happiness of society. The means by which it is to attain

tain that singular elevated point, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to say, the sky and the soil, are the first rule for the legislator. His resources dictate to him his duties. In the first instance, the local position should be consulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coast, will have laws more or less relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the sea or land may have on the subsistence of the inhabitants who are to people that desert coast. If the new colony is led by the course of some large river far within land, a legislator ought to have regard to their race, and the degree of their fecundity, and the connections the colony will have either within or without by the traffic of commodities most advantageous to its prosperity.

But it is especially in the distribution of property that the wisdom of legislation will appear. In general, and throughout all the countries in the world, when a colony is founded, land is to be given to every person, that is to say, to every one an extent sufficient for the maintenance of a family: more should be given to those who have abilities to make the necessary advances for improvement: some should be kept vacant for posterity, or for additional settlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

The first object of a rising colony is subsistence and population: the next is the prosperity likely to flow from these two sources. To avoid occasions of war, whether offensive or defensive; to turn industry towards those objects which produce most; not to form connections around them, except such as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the stability which the colony acquires by the number of its inhabitants and the nature of its resources; to introduce, above all things, a partial and local spirit in a nation which is going to be established, a spirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every institution to a distant but lasting point; and to make every occasional law subservient to the settled regulation,

tion, which alone is to effect an increase of numbers, and to give stability to the settlement; these circumstances make no more than a sketch of a legislation.

The moral system is to be formed on the nature of the climate. A large field for population is at first to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends open the facility of procuring subsistence. Sanctity of manners should be established by opinion. In a barbarous island, which is to be stocked with children, no more would be necessary than to leave the first dawning of truth to enlarge themselves, as reason unfolds itself. With proper precautions against idle fears proceeding from ignorance, the errors of superstition should be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural passions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, dissipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be established in a new country, the ability of legislation consists in not leaving behind any injurious opinions or habits, which may be cured or corrected. If we wish that they should not be transmitted to posterity, we should watch over the second generation by a general and public education of the children. A prince or legislator should never found a colony, without previously sending thither some proper persons for the education of youth; that is, some governors rather than teachers: for it is of less moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education arrives too late, when the people are already corrupted. The seeds of morality and virtue, sown in the infancy of a race already corrupted, are annihilated, in the early stages of manhood, by debauchery, and the contagion of such vices as have already become habitual in society. The best educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and contracting acquaintance, on which the remainder of their lives depends. If they marry, follow any profession or pursuit, they find the seeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition: a
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tain that singular elevated point, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to say, the sky and the soil, are the first rule for the legislator. His resources dictate to him his duties. In the first instance, the local position should be consulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coast, will have laws more or less relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the sea or land may have on the subsistence of the inhabitants who are to people that desert coast. If the new colony is led by the course of some large river far within land, a legislator ought to have regard to their race, and the degree of their fecundity, and the connections the colony will have either within or without by the traffic of commodities most advantageous to its prosperity.

But it is especially in the distribution of property that the wisdom of legislation will appear. In general, and throughout all the countries in the world, when a colony is founded, land is to be given to every person, that is to say, to every one an extent sufficient for the maintenance of a family: more should be given to those who have abilities to make the necessary advances for improvement: some should be kept vacant for posterity, or for additional settlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

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conduct entirely opposite to their principles, example, and discourse, which disconcerts and combats their best resolutions.

But, in a rising colony, the influence of the first generation may be corrected by the manners of the succeeding. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The necessities of life remove all vices proceeding from leisure. The overflowings of such population have a natural tendency towards the mother country, where luxury continually invites and seduces the rich and voluptuous planter. All means are open to the precautions of a legislator, who intends to refine the constitution and manners of the colony. Let them but have genius and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage will suggest to his mind a plan of society, that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheses that are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumstances too difficult to be foreseen and put together.

But the first foundation of a society for cultivation or commerce is property. It is the seed of good and evil, natural or moral, consequent on the social state. Every nation seems to be divided into two irreconcilable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property and the hirelings, that is to say, masters and slaves, form two classes of citizens, unfortunately in opposition with one another.

In vain have some modern authors wished by sophistry to establish a treaty of peace between these two states. The rich on all occasions are disposed to get a great deal from the poor at little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to set a higher value on their labour: while the rich man must always give the law in that too unequal bargain. Hence arises the system of counterpoise established in so many countries. The people have not desired to attack property, which they considered as sacred; but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to absorb the whole. These counterpoises

terpoises have almost always been ill applied, as they were but a feeble remedy against the original evil in society. It is then to the repartition of lands that a legislator will turn his principal attention. The more wisely that distribution shall be managed, the more simple, uniform, and precise, will be those laws of the country which principally conduce to the preservation of property.

The British colonies partake, in that respect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient constitution of the mother country. As its present government is but a reformation of that feudal government which had oppressed all Europe, it still retains many usages, which, being originally but abuses of servitude, are still more sensible by their contrast with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found necessary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility, to those which modify, lessen, abrogate, or soften, the feudal rights. Hence so many laws of exception for one of principle; so many of interpretation for one fundamental; so many new laws that are at variance with the old. So that it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code so diffuse, so perplexed, as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wisest men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed against this disorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced by their remonstrances have only served to increase the confusion.

By their dependence and their ignorance, the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digested mass whose burden oppressed their ancestors: they have added to that obscure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place, could introduce. From this mixture has resulted a chaos the most difficult to unfold; a collection of contradictions that require much pains to reconcile. Immediately there sprang up a numerous body of lawyers to devour the lands and inhabitants of those new-settled climates. The fortune and influence they have acquired in a short time, have brought into sub-

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jection to their rapaciousness the valuable class of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in all the arts and toils most indispensably necessary for all society, but almost singularly essential to a rising community. To the severe evil of chicane, which has attached itself to the branches in order to seize on the fruit, has succeeded the scourge of finance, which preys on the heart and root of the tree.

XIII.

The coin current in the BRITISH Colonies in
NORTH AMERICA.

IN the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the same value as in the mother country. The scarcity of it soon occasioned a rise of one third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of specie which came from the Spanish colonies; because they were obliged to transmit that into England in order to pay for the merchandise they wanted from thence. This was a gulph that sucked up the circulation in the colonies. The confusion occasioned by this continual export furnished a pretence for the employing of paper-money.

There are two sorts of it. The first has in view the encouragement of agriculture, trade, and industry. Every colonist who has more ambition than means, obtains from the province a paper credit, provided he consents to pay an interest of 5 *per cent.* furnishes a sufficient mortgage, and agrees to repay every year a tenth of the capital borrowed. By means of this mark, which is received without dispute into the public treasury, and which their fellow-citizens cannot refuse, the business of private persons becomes more brisk and easy. The government itself draws considerable advantages from this circulation; because as it receives interest and pays none, it can without the aid of taxes apply this fund to the important objects of public utility.

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But there is another sort of paper, whose existence is solely owing to the necessities of government. The several provinces of America had formed projects and contracted engagements beyond their abilities. They thought to make good the deficiency of their money by credit. Taxes were imposed to liquidate those bills that pressed for payment; but before the taxes had produced that salutary effect, new wants came on, that required fresh loans. The debts, therefore, accumulated, and the taxes were not sufficient to answer them. At length, the amount of the government bills exceeded all bounds after the late hostilities, during which the colonies had raised and provided for 25,000 men, and contributed to all the expences of so long and obstinate a war. The paper thus sank into the utmost disrepute, though it had been introduced only by the consent of the several general assemblies, and that each province was to be answerable for what was of their own creation.

The parliament of Great Britain observed this confusion, and attempted to remedy it. They regulated the quantity of paper circulation each colony should create for the future; and, as far as their information went, proportioned the mass of it to their riches and resources. This regulation displeased all persons, and in the year 1769 it was softened.

Paper, of the usual figure of the coin, still continues to pass in all kinds of business. Each piece is composed of two round leaves, glued one on the other, and bearing on each side the stamp that distinguishes them. There are some of every value. Each province has a public building for the making of them, and private houses from whence they are distributed: the pieces, which are much worn or soiled, are carried to these houses, and fresh ones received in exchange. There never has been an instance of the officers employed in these exchanges having been guilty of the least fraud.

But this honesty is not sufficient for the prosperity

of the colonies. Though for forty years their consumption has increased four times as much as their population, from whence it is apparent that the abilities of each subject are four times what they were; yet one may foretel, that these large establishments will never rise to that degree of splendour for which nature designs them, unless their fetters are broken which confine both their interior industry and their foreign trade.

XIV.

The BRITISH Colonies in NORTH AMERICA are shackled in their Industry and Commerce.

THE first colonists that peopled North America applied themselves in the beginning solely to agriculture. It was not long before they perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted; and they, therefore, found themselves in a manner compelled to set up some rude manufactures. The interests of the mother country seemed hurt at this innovation. The circumstance was brought into parliament, and there discussed with all the attention it deserved. There were men bold enough to defend the cause of the colonists. They urged, that as the business of tillage did not employ men all the year round, it was tyranny to oblige them to waste in idleness the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furnish them to the extent of their wants, it was reducing them to misery to hinder the people from providing against them by a new species of industry: in short, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to occasion the price of all provisions in a rising state to be enhanced; to lessen, or perhaps stop, the sale of them, and keep off such persons as might intend to settle there.

The evidence of these principles was not to be contro-

controverted: they were complied with after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own cloths themselves; but with such restrictions, as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of justice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was severely prohibited. They were forbidden, under the heaviest penalties, to traffic from one to the other for wool of any sort, raw or manufactured. However, some manufacturers of hats ventured to break through these restrictions. To put a stop to what was termed a heinous disorderly practice, the parliament had recourse to that mean and cruel spirit of regulations. A workman was not empowered to set up for himself till after seven years apprenticeship; a master was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any slave in his workshop.

Iron mines, which seem to put into mens hands the marks of their own independence, were laid under restrictions still more severe. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough lumps, any where but to the mother country. Without crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to fashion it, they had still less the liberty of converting it into steel.

Importation received still further restraints. All foreign vessels, unless in evident distress or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or silver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even British vessels are not admitted there, unless they come immediately from some port of that country. The shipping of the colonies going to Europe, are to bring back no merchandize but from the mother country, except wine from the Madeiras and the Azores, and salt necessary for their fisheries.

All exportations were originally to terminate in Britain: but weighty reasons have determined the government to relax and abate this extreme severity. It is at present allowed to the colonists, to carry di-

rectly south of Cape Finisterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, salt, fish, planks, and timber. All other productions belong exclusively to the mother country. Even Ireland, that furnished an advantageous vent for corn, flax, and pipe-staves, has been shut against them by an act of parliament in 1766.

The parliament, which is the representative of the nation, assumes the right of directing commerce in its whole extent throughout the British dominions. It is by that authority they pretend to regulate the connections between the mother country and the colonies ; to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal re-action, between the scattered parts of the immense empire. There should, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the relations that may be useful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole society. The parliament is the only body that can assume such an important power. But they ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of that confederated society. This is an inviolable maxim, especially in a state where all the powers are formed and directed for the preservation of natural liberty.

They departed from that principle of impartiality, which alone can maintain the equal state of independence among the several members of a free government, when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother country all their productions, even those which were not for its own consumption ; when they were obliged to take from the mother country all kinds of merchandise, even those which came from foreign nations. This imperious and useless restraint, loading the sales and purchases of the Americans with unnecessary and ruinous charges, has of course lessened their activity, and consequently diminished their profits ; and it has been only for the purpose of enriching a few merchants, or some factors at home, that the rights and interests of the colonies have thus been sacrificed. All they owed to Britain for the protection they received from

from her, was but a preference in the sale and importation of all such of their commodities as she could consume ; and a preference in the purchase and in the exportation of all such merchandise as came from her hands : So far all submission was a return of gratitude ; beyond it, all obligation was violence.

It is thus that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Transgression is the first effect produced by unreasonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that smuggling was contrary to the fundamental interest of their settlements, to all reason of government, and to the express intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings, that the subject who pays duty is oppressed by him who does not pay it ; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader by disappointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing such frauds, and fresh penalties inflicted for the punishment of them. The voice of interest, reason, and equity, has prevailed over all the clamours and attempts of finance : Foreign importations smuggled into North America, amount to one third of those which pay duty.

An indefinite liberty, or merely a restraint within due bounds, will stop the prohibited engagements of which so much complaint has been made. Then the colonies will arrive at a state of affluence, which will enable them to discharge a weight of debt due to the mother country, amounting, perhaps, to 6,562,500*l.* and to draw yearly from thence goods to the amount of 4,725,000*l.* agreeable to the calculation of American consumption stated by the parliament of Great Britain in 1766. But instead of this pleasing prospect, which one should imagine must of course arise from the constitution of the British government, was there any necessity, by a pretension not to be supported among a free people, to introduce into the colonies, with the hardships of taxation, the seeds of disorder and discord, and perhaps to kindle a flame which it is not so easy to extinguish as to light up?

XV.

Of the Taxation of the Colonies.

1. The mother-country has attempted to establish taxes in the colonies of North America. Whether she had a right to do this?

BRITAIN had just emerged from a war, as one may say universal, during which her fleets had planted the standard of victory over all the seas, and her conquests had enlarged her dominion with an immense territory in both the Indies. Such a sudden increase gave her in the eyes of all the world a splendour that must raise envy and admiration; but within herself she was continually reduced to grieve at her triumphs. Crushed with a load of debt to the amount of 145,687,500*l.* that cost her an interest of 4,881,515*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* a-year, she was with difficulty able to support the current expences of the state, with a revenue of 10,500,000*l.* and that revenue, far from increasing, was not even secure of continuance.

The land was charged with a higher tax than it had ever been in time of peace. New duties on houses and windows undermined that sort of property; and an increase of stock on a review of the finances depressed the value of the whole. A terror had been struck even into luxury itself, by taxes heaped on plate, cards, dice, wines, and brandy. No further expectation was to be had from commerce, which paid in every port, at every issue for the merchandise of Asia, for the produce of America, for spices, silks, for every article of export or import, whether manufactured or unwrought. The prohibitions of heavy duties had fortunately restrained the abuses of spirituous liquors; but that was partly at the expence of the public revenue. It was thought amends would be made by one of those expedients which it is generally easy to find, but hazardous to look

look out for, among the objects of general consumption and absolute necessity. Duties were laid on the drink of the common people, on malt, cyder, and beer. Every spring was strained: every power of the body politic had been extended to its utmost stretch. Materials and workmanship had so prodigiously risen in price, that foreigners, whether rivals or conquered, which before had not been able to support a contest with the British, were enabled to supplant them in every market, even in their own ports. The commercial advantages of Britain with every part of the world could not be valued at more than 2,450,000*l.* and that situation obliged her to draw from the balance 1,535,625*l.* to pay the arrears of 51,187,500*l.* which foreigners had placed in her public funds.

The crisis was a violent one. It was time to give the people some relief. They could not be eased by a diminution of expences, those being inevitable, either for the purpose of improving the conquests purchased by such a loss of blood and treasure; or to mitigate the feelings of the House of Bourbon, soured by the humiliations of the late war, and the sacrifices of the late peace. In default of other means, to manage with a steady hand as well the present security as future prosperity, the expedient occurred of calling in the colonies to the aid of the mother country, by making them bear a part of her burden. This determination seemed to be founded on reasons not to be controverted.

It is a duty imposed by the avowed maxims of all societies and of every age, on the different members which compose a state, to contribute towards all expences in proportion to their respective abilities. The security of the American provinces requires such a share of assistance from them, as may enable the mother country to protect them upon all occasions. It was to deliver them from the uneasiness that molested them, that Britain had engaged in a war which has multiplied her debts: they ought then to aid her in bearing

bearing or lessening the weight of that overcharge. At present, when they are freed of all apprehension from the attempts of a formidable adversary, which they have fortunately removed, can they without injustice refuse their deliverer, when her necessities are pressing, that money which purchased their preservation? Has not that generous protector, for a considerable time, granted encouragement to the improvement of their rich productions? Has she not lavished gratuitous advances of money, and does she not still lavish them on lands not yet cleared? Do not such benefits deserve to meet a return of relief and even of services?

Such were the motives that persuaded the British government that they had a right to establish taxation in the colonies. They availed themselves of the event of the late war, to assert this claim so dangerous to liberty. For if we attend to it, we shall find, that war, whether successful or not, serves always as a pretext for every usurpation of government; as if the heads of warring nations rather intended to reduce their subjects to more confirmed submission, than to make a conquest of their enemies. The American provinces were accordingly ordered to furnish the troops sent by the mother country for their security with a part of the necessaries required by an army. The apprehension of disturbing that agreement which is so necessary among ourselves, when surrounded by adversaries without, induced them to comply with the injunctions of the parliament; but with such prudence as not to speak of an act they could neither reject without occasioning civil dissention, nor recognise without exposing rights too precious to be forfeited. New-York alone ventured to disapprove the orders sent from Europe. Tho' the transgression was slight, it was punished as a disobedience by a suspension of her privileges.

It was most probable, that this attack made on the liberty of the colony would excite the remonstrance of all the rest. Either thro' want of attention or
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forefight, none of them complained. This silence was interpreted to proceed from fear, or from voluntary submission. Peace, that should lessen taxes every where, gave birth in the year 1764 to that famous stamp-act, which, by laying a duty on all marked paper, at the same time forbade the use of any other in public writings, whether judicial, or extra-judicial.

All the British colonies of the new continent revolted against this innovation, and their discontent manifested itself by signal acts. They entered into an agreement or conspiracy, the only one that suited moderate and civilized people, to forego all manufactures made up in the mother country, till the bill they complained of was repealed. The women, whose weakness was most to be feared, was the first to give up whatever Europe had before furnished them with either for parade or convenience. Animated by their example, the men rejected the commodities for which they were indebted to the old world. In the northern countries, they were found paying as much for the coarse stuffs made under their own inspection, as for fine cloths which were brought over the seas. They engaged not to eat lamb, that their flocks might increase, and in time be sufficient for the clothing of all the colonists. In the southern provinces, where wood is scarce and of an inferior quality, they were to dress themselves with cotton and flax furnished by their own climate. Agriculture was every where neglected, in order that the people might qualify themselves for the industry of the workshop.

This kind of indirect and passive opposition, which deserves to be imitated by all nations who may hereafter be aggrieved by the undue exercise of authority, produced the desired effect. The English manufacturers, who had scarce any other vent for their goods than their own colonies, fell into that state of despondency which is the natural consequence of want of employment : and their complaints, which could neither be stifled nor concealed by administration, made

made an impression which proved favourable to the colonies. The stamp-act was repealed, after a violent struggle that lasted two years, and which in an age of fanaticism would doubtless have occasioned a civil war.

But the triumph of the colonies did not last long. The parliament had given up the point with the greatest reluctance: and it clearly appeared they had not laid aside their pretensions, when in 1767 they threw the duties which the stamp-act would have produced, upon all glass, lead, tea, colours, pasteboard and stained paper, exported from England to America. Even the patriots themselves, who seemed most inclined to enlarge the authority of the mother country over the colonies, could not help condemning a tax, which in its consequences must affect the whole nation, by disposing numbers to apply themselves to manufactures, who ought to have been solely devoted to the improvement of lands. The colonists have not been the dupes of this, any more than of the first innovation. It has in vain been urged, that government had the power to impose what duties it thought proper upon imported goods, so long as it did not deprive the colonies of the liberty of manufacturing the articles subject to this new tax. This subterfuge has been considered as a derision, in respect to a people, who being devoted entirely to agriculture, and confined to trade only with the mother country, could not procure either by their own labour, or by their connections abroad, the necessary articles that were sold them at so high a price. They thought, when a tax was to be imposed, it was nothing more than a nominal distinction, whether it were levied in Europe, or America; and that their liberty was equally infringed by a duty laid upon commodities they really wanted, as by a tax upon stamped paper, which they had been made to consider as a necessary article. These intelligent people saw that government was inclined to deceive them, and thought it an indignity to suffer themselves to be

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the dupes either of force or of fraud. It appeared to them the surest mark of weakness and degeneracy in the subjects of any nation, to wink at all the artful and violent measures adopted by government to corrupt and enslave them.

The dislike they have shewn to these new imposts, was not founded on the idea of their being exorbitant, as they did not amount to more than about 1*s.* 3*d.* for each person ; which could give no alarm to a very populous community, whose public expence never exceeded the annual sum of 157,500*l.*

It was not from any apprehension that the ease of their circumstances would be affected : since the security they derived from the provinces ceded by France in the last war ; the increase of their trade with the savages ; the enlargement of their whale and cod-fisheries, together with those of the shark and the seal ; the right of cutting wood in the bay of Campeachy ; the acquisition of several sugar-islands ; the opportunities of carrying on a contraband trade with the neighbouring Spanish settlements : all these circumstances of advantage were abundantly sufficient to compensate the small proportion of revenue which government seemed so anxious to raise.

It was not their concern lest the colonies should be drained of the small quantity of specie which continued in circulation. The pay of eight thousand four hundred regular troops, maintained by the mother country in North America, must bring much more coin into the country than the tax could carry out of it.

It was not an indifference towards the mother country. The colonies, far from being ungrateful, have demonstrated so zealous an attachment to her interests during the last war, that parliament had the equity to order considerable sums to be remitted to them by way of restitution or indemnification.

Nor, lastly, was it ignorance of the obligations that subjects owe to government. Had not even the colonies acknowledged themselves bound to contri-

bute towards the payment of the national debt, tho' they had, perhaps, been the occasion of contracting the greatest part of it; they knew very well, that they were liable to contribute towards the expences of the navy, the maintenance of the African and American settlements, and to all the common expenditures relative to their own preservation and prosperity, as well as to that of the capital.

If the Americans refuse to lend their assistance to Europe, it is because what need only have been asked was exacted from them; and because what was required of them as a matter of obedience, ought to have been raised by voluntary contribution. Their refusal was not the effect of caprice; but of jealousy of their rights, which have been confirmed in some judicious writings, and more particularly in some eloquent letters, from which we shall borrow the principal facts we are going to state on a subject which must be interesting to every nation on the globe.

During almost two centuries that have passed since the English established themselves in North America, their country has been harrassed by expensive and bloody wars; thrown into confusion by enterprising and turbulent parliaments; and governed by a bold and corrupt ministry, ever ready to raise the power of the crown upon the ruin of all the privileges and rights of the people. But notwithstanding the influence of ambition, avarice, faction, and tyranny, the liberty of the colonies to raise their own taxes for the support of the public revenue hath on all hands been acknowledged and regarded.

This privilege, so natural and consonant to the fundamental principles of all rational society, was confirmed by a solemn compact. The colonies might appeal to their original charters, which authorise them to tax themselves freely and voluntarily. These acts were, in truth, nothing more than agreements made with the crown; but even supposing that the prince had exceeded his authority by making concessions which certainly did not turn to his advantage, long

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possession, tacitly owned and acknowledged by the silence of parliament, must constitute a legal prescription.

The American provinces have still more authentic claims to urge in their favour. They assert, that a subject of England, in whatever hemisphere he resides, is not obliged to contribute to the expences of the state without his own consent, given either by himself or his representatives. It is in the defence of this sacred right that the nation has so often spilt her blood, dethroned her kings, and either excited or opposed numberless commotions. Will she chuse to dispute with two millions of her children, an advantage which has cost her so dear, and is perhaps the sole foundation of her own independence?

It is urged against the colonies, that the Roman catholics residing in England are excluded from the right of voting, and that their estates are subjected to a double tax. The colonists ask in reply, why the papists refuse to take the oaths of allegiance required by the state? This conduct makes them suspected by government, and the jealousy it excites authorises that government to treat them with rigour. Why not abjure a religion so contrary to the free constitution of their country, so favourable to the inhuman claims of despotism, and to the attempts of the crown against the rights of the people? Why that blind prepossession in favour of a church which is an enemy to all others? *They* deserve the penalties which the state that tolerates them imposes upon subjects of intolerant principles. But the inhabitants of the new world would be punished without having offended, if they were not able to become subjects without ceasing to be Americans.

These faithful colonies have likewise been told with some confidence, that there are multitudes of subjects in Britain who are not represented; because they have not the property required to entitle them to vote at an election for members of parliament: What ground have they to expect any greater privileges

than those enjoyed by the subjects of the mother country? The colonies, in answer to this, deny that they wish for superior indulgences; they only want to share them in common with their brethren. In Great Britain, a person who enjoys a freehold of forty shillings a-year is consulted in the framing of a tax-bill, and shall not the man who possesses an immense tract of land in America have the same privilege? No: That which is an exception to a law, a deviation from the general rule of the mother country, ought not to become a fundamental point of constitution for the colonies. Let the English, who wish to deprive the provinces in America of the right of taxing themselves, suppose for a moment, that the house of commons, instead of being chosen by them, is an hereditary and established tribunal, or even arbitrarily appointed by the crown; if this body could levy taxes upon the whole nation without consulting the public opinion and the general inclinations of the people, would not the English look upon themselves to be as much slaves as any other nation? However, even in this case, five hundred men, surrounded by seven millions of their fellow-subjects, might be kept within the bounds of moderation, if not by a principle of equity, at least by a well-grounded apprehension of the public resentment, which pursues the oppressors of their country even beyond the grave. But the case of Americans taxed by the great council of the mother country would be irremediable. At too great a distance to be heard, they would be oppressed with taxes without regard to their complaints. Even the tyranny exercised towards them would be varnished over with the glorious appellation of patriotism. Under pretence of relieving the mother country, the colonies would be overburned with impunity.

2. *Whether the Colonies should submit to be taxed.*

WITH this alarming prospect before them, they will never submit to give up the right of taxing themselves. So long as they debate freely on the subject of public revenue, their interests will be attended to; or if their rights should sometimes be violated, they will soon obtain a redress of their grievances. But their remonstrances will no longer have any weight with government, when they are not supported by the right of granting or refusing money towards the exigences of the state. The same power which will have usurped the right of levying taxes, will easily usurp the distribution of them. As it dictates what proportion they shall raise, it will likewise dictate how that shall be laid out; and the sums apparently designed for their service, will be employed to enslave them. Such has been the progression of empires in all ages. No society ever preserved its liberty, after it had lost the privilege of voting in the confirmation or establishment of laws relative to the revenue. A nation must for ever be enslaved, in which no assembly or body of men remains who have the power to defend its rights against the encroachments of the state by which it is governed.

The provinces in British America have every reason imaginable to dread the loss of their independence. Even their confidence may betray them, and make them fall a prey to the designs of the mother country. They are inhabited by an infinite number of honest and upright people, who have no suspicion that those who hold the reins of empire can be hurried away by unjust and tyrannical passions. They take it for granted that their country cherishes those sentiments of maternal tenderness which are so consonant to her true interests, and to the love and veneration which they entertain for her. To the unsuspecting credulity of these honest subjects, who cherish so agreeable a delusion, may be added the acquiescence of those who

think it not worth while to trouble their repose on account of inconsiderable taxes. These indolent people do not perceive that the plan was, at first, to lull their vigilance asleep by imposing a moderate duty; that Britain only wanted to establish an example of submission, upon which it might ground future pretensions; that if the parliament has been able to raise one guinea, it can raise ten thousand; and that there will be no more reason to limit this right, than there would be justice in acknowledging it at present. But the greatest injury to liberty arises from a set of ambitious men, who, pursuing an interest distinct from that of the public and of posterity, are wholly bent on increasing their credit, their rank, and their estates. The British ministry, from whom they have procured employments, or expect to receive them, finds them always ready to favour their odious projects, by the contagion of their luxury and their vices, by their artful insinuations and the flexibility of their conduct.

Let all true patriots then firmly oppose the snares of prejudice, indolence, and seduction; nor let them despair of being victorious in a contest in which their virtue has engaged them. Attempts will, perhaps, be made to shake their fidelity, by the plausible proposal of allowing their representatives a seat in parliament, in order to regulate, in conjunction with those of the mother country, the taxes to be raised by the nation at large. Such, indeed, is the extent, populousness, wealth, and importance, of the colonies, that the legislature cannot govern them with wisdom and safety without availing itself of the advice and information of their representatives. But care should be taken not to authorise these deputies to decide in matters concerning the fortune and the contributions of their constituents. The expostulations of a few men would be easily overborne by the numerous representatives of the mother country; and the provinces, whose instruments they would be, would, in this confused jumble of interests and opinions, be laden with too heavy and too unequal a
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part of the common burden. Let, then, the right of appointing, proportioning, and raising the taxes, continue to be exclusively vested in the provincial assemblies; who ought to be the more jealous of it at the present juncture, as the power of depriving them of it seems to have gained strength by the conquests made in the last war.

From its late acquisitions, the mother country has derived the advantage of extending her fisheries, and strengthening her alliance with the savages. But as if this success passed for nothing in her estimation, she persists in declaring, that this increase of territory has answered no end, and produced no effect, but to secure the tranquillity of the colonies. The colonies, on the contrary, maintain, that their lands, on which their whole welfare depended, have decreased considerably in their value by this immense extent of territory; that, their population being diminished, or at least not increased, their country is the more exposed to invasions; and that the most northern provinces are rivalled by Canada, and the most southern by Florida. The colonists, who judge of future events by the history of the past, even go so far as to say, that the military government established in the conquered provinces, the numerous troops maintained, and the forts erected there, may one day contribute to enslave countries which have hitherto flourished only upon the principles of liberty.

Great Britain possesses all the authority over her colonies that she ought to wish for. She has a right to disannul any laws they shall make. The executive power is entirely lodged in the hands of her delegates; and in all determinations of a civil nature, an appeal lies to her tribunal. She regulates at discretion all commercial connections, which are allowed to be formed and pursued by the colonists. To strain an authority so wisely tempered, would be to plunge a rising continent afresh into that state of confusion from which it had with difficulty emerged in
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the course of two centuries of incessant labour ; and to reduce the men, who had laboured to clear the ground, to the necessity of taking up arms in the defence of those sacred rights to which they are equally entitled by nature and the laws of society. Shall the British, who are so passionately fond of liberty, that they have sometimes protected it in regions widely remote in climate and interest, forget those sentiments, which their glory, their virtue, their natural feelings, and their security, conspire to render a perpetual obligation ? Shall they so far betray the rights they hold so dear, as to wish to enslave their brethren and their children ? If, however, it should happen, that the spirit of faction should devise so fatal a design, and should, in an hour of madness and intoxication, get it patronized by the mother country, what steps ought the colonies to take to save themselves from the state of the most odious dependence ?

3. *How far the colonies ought to carry their opposition to taxation.*

BEFORE they turn their eyes on this political combustion, they will recall to memory all the advantages they owe to their country. Britain has always been their barrier against the powerful nations of Europe ; and served as a guide and moderator to watch over their preservation, and to heal those civil dissensions which jealousy and rivalry too frequently excite between neighbouring plantations in their rising state. It is to the influence of its excellent constitution that they owe the peace and prosperity they enjoy. While the colonies live under so salutary and mild an administration, they will continue to make a rapid progress in the vast field of improvement that opens itself to their view, and which their industry will extend to the remotest deserts.

Let the love of their country, however, be accompanied with a certain jealousy of their liberties ; and let their rights be constantly examined into, cleared

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up, and discussed. Let them never fail to consider those as the best citizens, who are perpetually calling their attention to those points. This spirit of jealousy is proper in all free states; but it is particularly necessary in complicated governments, where liberty is blended with a certain degree of dependence, such as is required in a connection between countries separated by an immense ocean. This vigilance will be the surest guardian of the union which ought strongly to cement the mother country and her colonies.

If the ministry, which is always composed of ambitious men, even in a free state, should attempt to increase the power of the crown, or the opulence of the mother country, at the expence of the colonies, the colonies ought to resist such an usurping power with unremitted spirit. When any measure of government meets with a warm opposition, it seldom fails to be rectified; while grievances, which are suffered for want of courage to redress them, are constantly succeeded by fresh instances of oppression. Nations, in general, are more apt to feel than to reflect; and have no other ideas of the legality of a power than the very exercise of that power. Accustomed to obey without examination, they in general become familiarized to the hardships of government; and, being ignorant of the origin and design of society, do not conceive the idea of setting bounds to authority. In those states especially, where the principles of legislation are confounded with those of religion, as one extravagant opinion opens the door for the reception of a thousand among those who have been once deceived, so the first encroachments of government pave the way for all the rest. He who believes the most, believes the least; and he who can perform the most, performs the least: and to this double mistake, in regard either to belief or power, it is owing, that all the absurdities and ill practices in religion and politics have been introduced into the world, in order to oppress the human species. The spirit of toleration and of liberty which has hitherto prevailed

prevailed in the British colonies, has happily preserved them from falling into this extreme of folly and misery. They have too high a sense of the dignity of human nature not to resist oppression, though at the hazard of their lives.

A people so intelligent do not want to be told, that desperate resolutions and violent measures cannot be justifiable till they have in vain tried every possible method of reconciliation. But, at the same time, they know, that, if they are reduced to the necessity of chusing slavery or war, and taking arms in defence of their liberty, they ought not to tarnish so glorious a cause with all the horrors and cruelties attendant on sedition; and, though resolved not to sheath the sword till they have recovered their rights, that they should make no other use of their victory than to procure the re-establishment of their original state of legal independence.

Let us, however, take care not to confound the resistance which the British colonies ought to make to their mother country, with the fury of a people excited to revolt against their sovereign by a long series of excessive oppression. When the slaves of an arbitrary monarch have once broken their chain, and submitted their fate to the decision of the sword, they are obliged to massacre the tyrant, to exterminate his whole race, and to change the form of that government under which they have suffered for many ages. If they venture not thus far, they will sooner or later be punished for having been courageous only by halves. The blow will be retorted upon them with greater force than ever; and the affected clemency of their tyrants will only prove a new snare, in which they will be caught and entangled without hope of deliverance. It is the misfortune of factions in an absolute government, that neither prince nor people set any bounds to their resentment; because they know none in the exercise of their power. But a constitution qualified like that of the British colonies, carries in its principles and the limitation of
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its power a remedy and preservative against the evils of anarchy. When the mother country has removed their complaints by reinstating them in their former situation, they ought to proceed no further; because such a situation is the happiest that a wise people have a right to aspire to.

4. *Whether it would be of use to the Colonies to break through the ties which unite them to the mother country.*

THEY could not embrace a plan of absolute independence, without breaking thro' the ties of religion, oaths, laws, language, relation, interest, trade, and habit, which unite them together under the mild authority of the mother country. Is it to be imagined that such an avulsion would not affect the heart, the vitals, and even the life, of the colonies? If they should stop short of the violence of civil wars, would they easily be brought to agree upon a new form of government? If each settlement composed a distinct state, what divisions would ensue! We may judge of the animosities that would arise from their separation by the fate of all communities which nature has made to border on each other. But, could it be supposed that so many settlements, where a diversity of laws, different degrees of opulence, and variety of possessions, would sow the latent seeds of an opposition of interests, were desirous of forming a confederacy; how would they adjust the rank which each would aspire to hold, and the influence it ought to have, in proportion to the risk it incurred, and the forces it supplied? Would not the same spirit of jealousy, and a thousand other passions, which in a short time divided the wise states of Greece, raise discord between a multitude of colonies associated rather by the transient and brittle ties of passion and resentment, than by the sober principles of a natural and lasting combination? All these considerations seem

seem to demonstrate, that an eternal separation from the mother country would prove a very great misfortune to the British colonies.

5. *Whether it would be proper for the European nations to endeavour to render the British colonies independent of the mother country.*

WE will go one step further, and affirm, that, were it in the power of the European nations who have possessions in the new world, to effect this great revolution, it is not their interest to wish it. This will, perhaps, be thought a paradox by those powers, who see their colonies perpetually threatened with an invasion from their neighbours. They, doubtless, imagine, that if the power of the British in America were lessened, they should peaceably enjoy their acquisitions, which frequently excite their envy, and invite them to hostilities. It cannot be denied, that their influence in these distant regions arises from the extent or populousness of their northern provinces; which enable them always to attack with advantage the islands and continental possessions of other nations, to conquer their territories, or ruin their trade. But, after all, this crown has interests in other parts of the globe which may counteract their progress in America, restrain or retard their enterprises, and frustrate their conquests by the restitutions they will be obliged to make.

When the ties subsisting between old and new Britain are once broken, the northern colonies will have more power when single, than when united with the mother country. This great continent, freed with all connections with Europe, will have the full command of all its motions. It will then become an important as well as an easy undertaking to them, to invade those territories whose riches will make amends for the scantiness of their productions. By the independent nature of its situation, it will be enabled to
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get every thing in readiness for an invasion, before any account arrives in Europe. This nation will carry on their military operations with the spirit peculiar to new societies. They may make choice of their enemies, and conquer where and when they please. Their attacks will always be made upon such coasts as are liable to be taken by surprise, and upon those seas that are least guarded by foreign powers; who will find the countries they wished to defend conquered before any succours can arrive. It will be impossible to recover them by treaty, without making great concessions; or, when recovered for a time, to prevent their falling again under the same yoke. The colonies belonging to our absolute monarchies, will, perhaps, be inclined to meet a master with open arms, who cannot propose harder terms than their own government imposes; or, after the example of the British colonies, will break the chain that rivets them so ignominiously to Europe.

Let no motive by any means prevail upon the nations who are rivals to Britain, either by insinuations, or by clandestine helps, to hasten a revolution, which would only deliver them from a neighbouring enemy, by giving them a much more formidable one at a distance. Why accelerate an event which must one day naturally take place from the unavoidable concurrence of so many others? For it would be contrary to the nature of things, if the province, subject to a presiding nation, should continue under its dominion, when equal to it in riches and the number of inhabitants. Or, indeed, who can tell whether this disunion may not happen sooner? Is it not likely, that the distrust and hatred which have of late taken place of that regard and attachment which the provinces formerly felt for the parent country, may bring on a separation? Thus every thing conspires to produce this great disruption, the æra of which it is impossible to know. Every thing tends to this point; the progress of good in the new hemisphere, and the progress of evil in the old.

Alas ! the sudden and rapid decline in our manners and our powers, the crimes of princes, and the sufferings of the people, will make this fatal catastrophe, which is to divide one part of the globe from the other, universal. The foundations of our tottering empires are sapped ; materials are hourly collecting and preparing for their destruction, composed of the ruins of our laws, the ferment of contending opinions, and the subversion of our rights which were the foundation of our courage ; the luxury of our courts, and the miseries of the country ; the lasting animosity between indolent men who engross all the wealth, and vigorous and even virtuous men who have nothing to lose but their lives. In proportion as our people are weakened and resign themselves to each other's dominion, population and agriculture will flourish in America : the arts, transplanted by our means, will make a rapid progress ; and that country, rising out of nothing, will be fired with the ambition of appearing with glory, in its turn, on the face of the globe, and in the history of the world. O posterity ! ye, peradventure, will be more happy than your unfortunate and contemptible ancestors. May this last wish be accomplished, and console the present expiring race with the hopes that a better will succeed it ?

END of the HISTORY of the BRITISH SETTLEMENTS
in AMERICA.

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IMPARTIAL HISTORY
OF THE
PRESENT WAR
IN AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION.

IN writing history of every kind, there is nothing more to be commended than impartiality; and scarce any thing is more difficult to be observed. It is hardly possible for the historian to avoid interesting himself on that side which appears the most just and equitable. When this is done, the passions, natural to all mankind, will prompt him to represent the other party in colours perhaps much blacker than they deserve; or may even so far prevail, as to cause him misrepresent facts, and derive them from motives never thought of by those whose history he writes. This is particularly the case in writing the history of a civil war, especially by a native of the country where that war is carried on. There are few people destitute of affection for their native country; indeed it is in a manner impossible that any person should be so, except those who have totally cast off all pretensions to humanity. Every attack, therefore, on any man's country, is necessarily considered by him as an attack upon himself. If a war unhappily

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pily breaks out in that country, it is impossible to stand neuter. Some part or other must be chosen by every one. An attack then upon the party which a man chooses is an attack upon himself; and when an historian writes the history of such a war, his book must necessarily be considered as a kind of judgment in his own cause.

The annals of history can scarce afford stronger instances of this kind of partiality than the present contest with the Americans. It hath been disputed, Whether the people who are at war with the King are in *rebellion* against him or not? According to the disposition of the disputants, the very same facts have been represented in the most opposite lights.

If one is any how connected with the ministry, hath a place under the government, or hath any friends that are so; with him, the Americans are rebels, traitors, and utterly destitute of every good principle. On the other hand, if the disputant, or the writer, is any how discontented with the public management of affairs at present; with him, the Americans are an injured and oppressed People, making the most glorious struggles for Liberty, against a wicked and tyrannical Ministry.

Notwithstanding the difficulty, however, which I have just now stated, I think it is still possible for an historian to be absolutely impartial, even when he relates matters respecting his own country. This may easily be done, by laying down some maxim or first principle known to be just; by comparing of which with the actions of those he writes, they may be certainly known to be right or wrong. In the following abstract of the History of this very important and interesting War, I shall only lay down the following principle, which surely can be denied by nobody; viz. "That Peace is always preferable to War, where it can be obtained upon honourable Terms." By stedfastly keeping in view this principle, I hope to avoid the invectives which have been so liberally bestowed on both sides: And though I

am afraid we must at last conclude the Americans to have been the offending party, I believe they have not been guilty of any offence but what other men would have committed, had they been in their places.

The state of mankind in this world renders quarrels, both public and private, absolutely unavoidable. That nation, or that individual, doth not exist, who hath not quarrelled with another. From the existence of a war between two nations, therefore, we ought not to imagine that either of them are composed of worse men, or led by worse men than the other. We can only conclude this, when one offers an honourable peace, and the other refuses. The latter is then undoubtedly to be blamed; and the leading men of it are deservedly to be characterised as wicked and infamous persons.

C H A P. I.

Origin and Progress of the Discontents in America, till the commencement of Hostilities in 1775.

THE origin of the present war is to be traced from two passions deeply rooted in every human breast; namely, a love of power over others, and a love of freedom and independency for ourselves. I shall not enter into a disquisition how far it is allowable to follow either of these passions. Certain it is, that, in some cases, both of them are not only lawful, but necessary; and considering matters in this light, we may readily excuse the British ministry for desiring to keep the colonies in subjection, as well as the colonies for shewing a desire to shake off the yoke.

This spirit of Independency began to shew itself in the British colonies almost from their first foundation; and some of them disputed the sovereignty of the mother country as early as the reign of King Charles II. At that time, it was only the want of strength in the infant colonies, that prevented the

flame from breaking out with the same violence as now. With regard to the question of right in this case, it can scarce be denied, That people who are protected by any government, ought to be subject to that government by which they are protected. The case is here as plain as between a parent and a child. But whether the subjection ought still to continue as great on the part of the colonists after they are become able to defend themselves, may perhaps bear a dispute. Certain it is, that the British ministry have all along insisted on their absolute submission to the will of parliament; and the Americans have as obstinately insisted on being treated as an Independent state, without owning the least subjection to the British legislature.

In this way, matters proceeded for a very considerable time. The British legislature made several acts, declaring the Americans to be subject in the most unlimited manner to parliament. These were by the other party either taken no notice of, or disregarded when the authority of parliament seemed to clash with the interest of the colonies. In the year 1754, however, matters came to a crisis. The French were then making such encroachments as threatened the utter ruin of the British colonies, if not speedily put a stop to. It was therefore necessary, that money should be levied through the different colonies for the defence of the whole. The question was, By what power it was to be raised? If the governors of Great Britain were also the governors of America, it is plain this money was to be levied by the authority of the British legislature; but, if otherwise, no doubt the Americans themselves were the proper persons. To settle this very important point, commissioners from a number of the colonies were appointed to meet at Albany in the province of New York. At this meeting, it was agreed, that a grand council should be chosen by the different assemblies, and sent from all the colonies; and that this council, together with a governor-general appointed by

by the Crown, should be impowered to make laws for raising money throughout the whole continent. This plan was sent to England for the approbation of the British ministry. By them it was rejected, and a new one formed in its stead. It was now proposed, that an assembly should be formed, not of the *representatives* of the American people in their provincial assemblies, but of their *governors*, attended by one or two of their council. These were to concert measures for the good of the whole, erect forts wherever they pleased, and raise what troops they thought necessary. To defray their expences they had power to draw on the British treasury; and the sums so drawn were to be reimbursed by a tax laid on the colonies by act of parliament.

It is scarce necessary to observe that this proposal was rejected by the Americans. These two schemes were in fact a declaration of war between Britain and her colonies. The Americans required total independency. Had their scheme been listened to, no act of the British legislature could possibly have affected them. They were subject to the same King indeed, but they were only a nation in alliance with Britain; and no more in subjection to it than Scotland was to England before the union. On the other hand, had the ministerial plan been followed, it is plain that the Americans were in the most perfect subjection to the mother country; as the ministry could lay upon them what taxes they pleased, raise what forces they had a mind, and make what use they thought proper of these forces. These consequences it was impossible to avoid; for the governor, of whom the supreme council above mentioned was to be composed, being all servants of the Crown, it is not to be supposed that they would ever have the interest of the country so much at heart as they would have the keeping in with the British ministry who could turn them out of their places at pleasure.

In this situation were matters at the beginning of the last war with France; and no sooner was it ended

than the disputes between Britain and her colonies were renewed with fresh vigour. Though the Americans had, by rejecting the ministerial scheme above mentioned, utterly denied the authority of the British legislature to tax them, the idea of their being possessed of this power was still held by the ministry. They were at this time also in a manner compelled to follow the measures they did. The nation was exhausted by a long and expensive war. Many millions of debt had been contracted, and an increase of territory, without any addition of revenue to enable the nation to defend it, was a burden rather than an advantage. The flourishing state of the American colonies made them at that time a desirable object; and accordingly, in 1764, a new tax was laid upon America to the amount of L. 341,377. This was to be raised by new imposts and duties on the American trade; and, though the taxes were laid chiefly upon articles of luxury, it gave great offence to the colonists. But they were much more chagrined by another act which restrained them from exporting their superfluous commodities to the French and Spanish settlements. A contraband trade of this kind had been carried on till now, and was of great service to all parties concerned, though forbid by the laws of France and Spain. The total stoppage of this trade proved a more grievous stroke to the Americans than almost any tax that could be laid upon them. The reason was this. Though a mutual exchange of goods took place between Britain and America, yet the balance was always greatly in favour of the former, and consequently the Americans were constantly indebted to the merchants of this country. This balance was to be paid in cash, and there was a necessity for them to procure this somewhere. Their country does not produce gold or silver; and if they were totally prohibited from trading with any other nation than Britain, it was impossible they could have any money at all. We cannot blame the ministry for putting a stop to this trade with the French and Spanish.

nish colonies which was disagreeable to their mother countries ; but some method of removing so great an inconvenience as that above-mentioned ought undoubtedly to have been tried. The method of putting the law in execution gave still greater offence. A number of armed cutters were fitted out and stationed on the coasts of America to prevent this contraband trade ; and the captains of these cutters were to act in the character of revenue officers, and to determine what ships were liable to the penalties of the act, and what were not. It can scarce be imagined but these captains would frequently detain ships unjustly ; and when a lawful trader was injured, it was not easy to obtain redress. The Lords of the Admiralty, or of the Treasury in England could only remove the grievance ; but considering the distance of place, and the manner of application, the whole trade might have been ruined before redress could have been obtained. Great disturbances were occasioned by this law, many acts of violence were committed, and both parties represented the injuries they suffered with the utmost acrimony and aggravation.

Another hardship on the Americans was the obliging them to make payment in specie to the Exchequer of the duty upon such goods as they were allowed to trade in. This was a method of draining the whole money from the colonies, and leaving them nothing for circulation ; and what was still worse, another bill was preferred two weeks after, by which it was declared that no paper bills should be a legal tender for payment of any kind ; and that such bills as were already passed, should after a limited time be called in and sunk. As a kind of balance to this law, however, several others were enacted at the same time, which it was hoped would be of service to the colonies. These were, a bill to grant leave for a limited time to carry rice from the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia to other parts of America on paying British duties ; an act for granting a bounty upon the importation of hemp, and rough undressed flax,
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from the American colonies into Great Britain ; and another to encourage the whale fishery on their coasts. But as these laws must necessarily have existed for a considerable time before any benefit could result from them, and the evil consequences of the other were present and urgent, no notice was taken of these salutary laws ; and the Americans regarded the British ministry only as their oppressors.

The natural way in which the resentment of the colonies now operated was in resolutions to encourage manufactures among themselves, that so they might become in some measure independent of the mother country. Associations were entered into for this purpose, and the usual quantity of manufactures not being taken from Britain, great numbers of those employed in them were deprived of employment and rendered useless to the public. The stagnation in trade occasioned by these proceedings was also severely felt both on this side of the Atlantic and on the other.

While the ferment, raised by the laws already mentioned, still continued in full force, another bill was passed, more obnoxious to the colonists than all the rest. By this, 53 different sorts of stamps and other duties were laid upon the American colonies, many of them very heavy, and which were considered as highly oppressive and burdensome. Against this bill petitions were given in by the agents for some of the colonies, and it met with much opposition in parliament. At last, however, it was passed into a law ; and the ministry hoped, that though some clamours might be raised against it at first, the Americans would soon be content to submit. Experience shewed that they were deceived. The news of its being passed reached New England first, and there occasioned the greatest disturbances. The ships in the harbour hung out their colours half mast high, in token of deep mourning ; the bells were muffled ; the act was printed with a death's head to it, in the place where it was customary to affix the new acts of parliament, and called publicly about the streets by

by the name of the *Folly of England*, and the *Ruin of America*. Papers and pamphlets without number were wrote on the subject; and by the time the act had reached America, the people were wrought up to the highest pitch of aversion against it, and treated it with the utmost contempt. In many places this hated act was publicly burnt, together with the effigies of the first promoters of it, who, had they been present, would probably have shared the same fate. In short the discontent was so great, that when the news of it arrived in England, there were few masters of ships to be found that would venture to carry over any stamped paper to the continent. Such as were so hardy as to do so, were obliged to deliver up their cargoes into the hands of the enraged populace, who committed it to the flames; or to take shelter under such of the king's ships as happened to be nearest to protect them. Those who came over to collect the revenue were treated in the severest manner; and the gentlemen who designed to act as distributors of the stamps were made sorely to repent their having any concern in the matter. Many of them were made to renounce upon oath all manner of concern in the stamps; others wisely returned to the places from whence they came; while those who strenuously persisted in attempting to put the act in execution, were treated as enemies of the country, had their houses plundered, their effects destroyed, &c. Some of the colonies indeed submitted to this law; but when ships arrived from any of these to the refractory ones, the stamps they brought along with them for their own vindication at the custom-house were seized, stuck up in taverns and coffee-houses by way of scorn, and afterwards burnt. In this behaviour the Americans were privately encouraged by the leaders of the opposition in that country; and some of them advertised publicly that they were resolved to pay no duties but what were laid on by their own representatives. This was soon avowed by the provincial assemblies. Instead

stead of endeavouring to suppress the riotous behaviour of the common people, they began to patronize it; and affirmed, that if there were any disorders committed, those were chargeable with them who endeavoured to promote so unconstitutional a law. At last they came to a resolution to petition the British legislature against the stamp act. They pleaded their incapacity to pay any such tax as was now imposed upon them; but at the same time they never owned that they were at all subject to parliamentary authority; and this rendered their petition offensive to the majority.

At this time, however, the colonists began to take more effectual measures for opposing the stamp act: They formed associations, and appointed committees for the sake of a general correspondence throughout the whole continent. From these committees deputies were appointed to meet in congress at New York; and when these deputies met, they were found to be so unanimous in their sentiments, that they had little more to do than congratulate one another, and set their hands to one general declaration of their rights, and the grievances they laboured under, and to a petition, expressing a sense of their grievances to the King, Lords, and Commons of Britain. In a short time even those whose interest seemed to ly most on the opposite side, began to join the discontented people. The justices of Westmoreland in Virginia gave public notice that they had resigned their offices, and even the lawyers chose rather to give up their business than to write on stamped paper. Before the first of November 1765, when the act was to take place, there was not a sheet of stamped paper to be found throughout the whole colonies of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, or the two Carolinas, except a parcel at New York, which the governor was obliged to deliver up to the corporation, on condition that it should not be destroyed like the rest. Thus all business that could not be carried on without stamps,

was put entirely to a stand, except news-papers, which the printers, for fear of the populace, were obliged to continue without stamps. But in Canada where stamps were used, the printers were in a worse condition; for few or none would buy a news-paper on account of its being stamped; and the whole lay upon their hands. The courts of justice were now shut up as well as the ports; and even in those colonies where stamps were used, the people of the best rank submitted to be called in churches rather than take out licences for private marriages. The evil consequences of the total stagnation in business which now took place, soon began to be felt severely; but the colonists seemed determined to suffer any thing rather than submit. Some curious expedients, however, were tried to evade the influence of this new law; and among others, the bark of a tree was discovered which might be used as a succedaneum for paper. It was sent to the printers at Boston for their approbation; and as it was neither paper, parchment, nor vellum, the discoverer wanted to know whether deeds written upon this bark might not be valid though they were not stamped. The most effectual method of opposing these obnoxious acts, however, was the following: The merchants throughout all the colonies entered into the most solemn engagements, to order no more goods from Great Britain, whatever should be the consequence, and to recall the orders they had already given, if not executed before the first of January 1766; and they further resolved not to dispose of any British goods sent them upon commission, that were not shipped before that time; or if they consented to any relaxation from these engagements, it was not to take place till after the stamp-act and some other obnoxious ones were repealed. It was resolved at Philadelphia by a great majority, that till such a repeal should happen, no lawyer should be put in suit for a demand for money, owing by a resident in America to any one in England, nor any person in America, however

ever indebted to England, make any remittances there. This resolution was adopted by the retailers, who unanimously agreed not to buy any more English goods shipped contrary to these resolutions.

This controversy, in the mean time was of great advantage to Ireland. What goods the Americans could not possibly want they ordered from that country, in exchange for their hemp and flax seed, of which they exported a great quantity annually. They did not fail, however, to take measures at the same time for freeing themselves from this dependence upon other nations for the necessaries of life. A society of arts, manufactures, and commerce was instituted at New York, in imitation of that of London, and markets were opened for the sale of home-made manufactures. Many resolutions were formed in order to encourage these manufactures, and in a short time it became very probable that the American colonies would be able to supply themselves with all the necessaries of life. They next resolved to stop the exportation of tobacco from Virginia and South Carolina to Great Britain; and considering the vast quantities of that article which are consumed in the island, or re-exported from it to other countries, such a resolution could not fail greatly to affect both the British trade and revenue.

The consequences of these resolutions were less felt by the Americans than the inhabitants of Britain. The former were already in possession of large quantities of British goods, and enjoyed an extensive country abounding with many of the necessaries of life. The latter were distressed by the stagnation of their trade. The Americans were indebted to British merchants upwards of four millions Sterling for goods they had already received, and which they were neither able nor willing to pay; and the want of this money proved ruinous to many. At last, it was seen to be necessary, either to enforce the execution of the stamp act by a military power, or to repeal it altogether. The latter opinion prevailed in parliament,

parliament, and the act was repealed, but some others equally obnoxious to the Americans were left.

It may easily be imagined that the repeal of one obnoxious law could only procure a temporary tranquillity; and the Americans having as they imagined, gained a victory over the British ministry, would not fail to exult in it, and become more untractable afterwards. This accordingly happened; for though the obnoxious acts were repealed in 1770, yet the leaving of a single duty of 3 d. a pound on tea imported from Britain into America, was doomed to be the fatal bone of contention between the mother country and her colonies. This, it must be confessed, will at first sight seem to be a very slight cause for embroiling themselves in such a dangerous scheme. But we must consider, that the Americans having once begun to contend for what they imagined to be their liberties, could not retract. The power of parliament to tax them in any manner of way whatever, was what they utterly denied. The present tax was indeed very trifling, but if parliament was allowed to tax them in one article they might do so in every other; and thus, as the Americans thought, reduce them to slavery, by taking their property without any consent given on their part either by themselves or representatives.

It would be tedious, indeed impossible, to enumerate all the ways in which the discontent of the people now showed itself. Numberless mobs, tumults, and riots were excited. Resolutions were entered into throughout most of the colonies against the use of East India tea, and whoever was so hardy as to stand out against the general voice was soon convinced of his error by tarring and feathering. It appears, however, that at this time, and probably long before, the colonies had designed to assert their independence. This seems probable from the extreme obstinacy with which they always resisted the least appearance of subjection to parliamentary authority, and the readiness with which they entered

into resolutions against importing any British goods, though they stood ever so much in need of them. These resolutions were now entered into more than ever, and a spirit of unanimity very surprising in modern ages pervaded the whole continent. The governors, in the mean time, were in a perpetual state of war with their people. Assemblies were repeatedly called, and suddenly dissolved; and during the short time they sat, their time was wholly taken up in recounting their grievances, and framing remonstrances. The tea-bill was considered merely as a scheme to delude them into a compliance with the revenue laws, and to open the door for unlimited taxation. It was easily seen, that if once the tea was landed, and lodged in the hands of the consignees appointed by the East India company to receive it, no effectual method whatever could be fallen upon to hinder its sale and consumption. It was therefore judged necessary to prevent any East India tea from being landed on the continent. The tea consignees, who had been appointed by the East India company, were obliged in most places to relinquish their appointments, and to enter into public engagements not to act in that capacity. Committees were appointed by the people in different towns, to whom they delegated powers which they themselves could not legally bestow. These committees were authorized to inspect merchants books; to propose tests; to punish such as they thought contumacious, by declaring them enemies to the liberties of America, and to assemble the people as often as they saw occasion. In such tumultuous assemblies, it was impossible but every thing must have been carried on in the most violent manner. Inflammatory hand-bills and other seditious papers were continually published throughout all the colonies; it was at Boston, however, that the first outrage was committed, and which seemed to bring matters to a crisis sooner than they otherwise would have been. The inhabitants of this town had long been obnoxious to government

on account of their remarkable obstinacy in resisting all manner of parliamentary authority. On the present occasion they did not fail to exert themselves in their usual manner. Three ships laden with tea having arrived in the port of Boston, the captains were treated in such a manner that they promised to return with their cargoes to England, provided they were permitted by the consignees, the board of customs, and the fort of castle William. These concessions, however, could not be obtained. The consignees refused to discharge the captains from the obligations under which they were chartered for the delivery of their cargoes; the custom-house refused them a clearance for their return; and the governor to grant them a passport for clearing the fort. In this situation the Bostonians easily saw, that if the ships were suffered to ly so near, it would be impossible for them, with all their precautions, to prevent the tea from being landed by degrees, and if it was once landed, it would be equally impossible to prevent it from being disposed of. For these reasons, a number of armed men, disguised like Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships, and threw their whole cargoes of tea into the sea, without doing any other damage, or offering any injury to the captains or crews. This happened on the 18th of December 1773, and it was remarkable, that no attempt was made to preserve the tea from being destroyed, either by the civil government, the garrison of Fort William, or the armed ships in the harbour. Some smaller quantities of tea met with the same fate at Boston and other places. But, in general, the commissioners for the sale of that commodity, having been obliged to relinquish their employment, and no other persons daring to receive the cargoes consigned to them, the masters of the tea-vessels knowing their danger, and the determined resolution of the people, readily complied with the terms prescribed them, of returning to England immediately, without entangling themselves by an entry at the custom-houses.

Matters being now brought to such a pass, that either Britain must submit to her colonies, or the colonies to her, it was resolved in parliament, to take the most effectual measures for punishing the seditious spirit of the Americans, and reducing them to what was thought their duty, but what they themselves called slavery. For this purpose, several laws were passed, the most remarkable of which was an act for shutting up the port of Boston after the first of June 1774. This measure it was hoped would prove the means of dividing the councils of the Americans, and putting a stop to that unanimity which threatened to give the mother country so much trouble. It was expected, that the shutting up this port would naturally prove a gratification to the neighbouring towns that were rivals in commerce to Boston. It was also thought that this punishment, inflicted on a particular province, would prove a terror to the rest. These opinions, however, shewed a great degree of weakness in the judgement of the Ministry. It might easily have been seen, that people so ready to resist the smallest encroachments of parliamentary authority, would be irritated to the last degree by such an exertion of it, as to shut up and stop all the commerce of one of their principal ports. They must now consider themselves as absolute slaves to Britain; and were the parliament to pass an act for taking away their lives, as well as their commerce, submission must be thought their duty. On the other hand, it was certainly very hard for the Ministry, or indeed any body else, to know what was proper to be done. To have yielded at once, and let the Americans enjoy absolute independency, would, no doubt, have been accounted a piece of weakness, and reflected great dishonour on the British nation; and it was now plain, that unless this independency was in effect granted, no other terms would be complied with on their part. Perhaps the best method would have been at this time, to have declared them rebels, and attacked them vigorously with a force they could

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not possibly resist. This would have quashed the rebellion (for such it then was, as much as now) at once, and in all human probability, with much less bloodshed than has happened since that time. Two things, however, seem to have hindered this measure; the one, the strength of opposition to Ministerial counsels at home; and the other, an ill-grounded opinion of the cowardice, or weakness of the Americans. This last opinion seems at that time, and indeed almost ever since, to have prevailed in this country, even to a degree of infatuation. Some people even imagined, that three or four thousand regular troops were sufficient for the conquest of the whole continent. It was therefore thought abundantly sufficient for quelling all tumults or insurrections that might arise in that quarter, to send four regiments to Boston, along with General Gage, who was appointed governor in the room of Hutchinson, and at the same time commander in chief of all the forces in America.

Matters, however, turned out directly opposite to the views of the Ministry. The neighbouring towns, instead of attempting to profit by the misfortunes of Boston, used their utmost endeavours for her relief; and the other colonies seemed to have their affection and sympathy raised in proportion to the efforts of the Ministry against their sister.

As matters were now come to a crisis, it will here be proper, for a right understanding of what produced the final breach between Great Britain and her colonies, to give a short abstract of the most offensive acts, and some of the American resolutions and animadversions concerning them.

In the preamble to the Boston Port Bill, it was declared, That as dangerous Commotions and Insurrections had been fomented and raised in the town of Boston, by ill-affected persons, to the subversion of government, and to the utter destruction of the public peace; in which commotions, certain valuable cargoes of teas, the property of the East India com-

pany, and on board vessels lying within the bay or harbour of Boston were seized and destroyed; and as in the condition in which the town and harbour at that time were, the commerce of his Majesty's subjects could not be safely carried on, nor his Majesty's customs duly collected; it was therefore expedient that the officers of these customs should immediately be removed from the said town; therefore it was enacted, that after the 1st of June 1774, no merchandise should be landed at, or shipped from Boston, under penalty of forfeiting the ship and cargo. This prohibition, however, was not to extend to any military stores brought for his Majesty's use, or to any fuel or victual brought coast-wise from any part of the continent of America, provided the ships were furnished with a proper pass. All seizures and forfeitures inflicted by this act, were to be made and prosecuted by any admiral or commissioned officer of his Majesty's fleet, or by the officers of the customs, or some other person appointed by the Lord High Treasurer. But, whenever it was made to appear to his Majesty in his privy-council, that peace and obedience to the laws were so far restored in the town of Boston, that the trade of Great Britain might be safely carried on there, and his Majesty's customs duly collected, it should be lawful for his Majesty by proclamation, or by order of the council, to assign and appoint the bounds and limits of the port and harbour of Boston, and of every creek or haven within the same, or in the islands within the precincts thereof; and also to appoint such and so many officers of the customs as his Majesty should think fit; after which it should be lawful to land goods at these places, and no other. But such appointments were altogether out of his Majesty's power to make, before satisfaction was made to the East India Company for the loss she had sustained by the destruction of the tea.

Another act, which was greatly resented by the Americans, was entitled, "An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts."

set's bay." By this act it was declared, that from and after the first day of August 1774, so much of the charter by king William to the inhabitants of Massachuset's bay, which relates to the time and manner of electing counsellors should be revoked; and from that day the council for the province should be composed of such of the inhabitants, or proprietors of lands within the same, as should be appointed by his Majesty, with consent of the privy council, agreeable to the practice then used in respect to the appointment of counsellors in those colonies, the governors whereof were appointed by commission under the great seal of Britain. That all the judges of inferior courts, sheriffs, &c. should be appointed by his Majesty, or his servants. That after the first of August, no meeting should be called by the select men, or at the request of any number of freeholders of any township, without the leave of the governor, or, in his absence, of the lieutenant governor, in writing, expressing the special business of the meeting, excepting only the annual meeting in the months of March and May for the choice of select men, &c.

Another act was at the same time passed, whereby it was declared "That if any inquisition or indictment shall be found, or if any appeal shall be preferred against any person for murder or other capital offence in the province of Massachuset's-bay, and it shall appear by information given upon oath to the governor, or to the lieutenant governor, that the fact was committed by the person against whom such indictment shall be found, either in the execution of his duty as a magistrate, for the suppression of riots, or in the support of the laws of revenue, or in acting in his duty as an officer of revenue, or in acting under the direction and order of any magistrate for the suppression of riots, or for carrying into effect the laws of the revenue, &c. and if it shall also appear to the satisfaction of the said governor or lieutenant-governor, that an indifferent trial cannot be had within the province, it shall be lawful for the gover-

nor, or lieutenant-governor, to direct, with the advice of the council, that the indictment shall be tried in some of the other colonies, or in Great Britain; and for that purpose to order the person against whom such indictment shall be found, to be sent under sufficient custody, to the place appointed for his trial, or to admit such person to bail, taking a recognizance with sufficient sureties in such sums of money as the governor, or lieutenant-governor shall deem reasonable, for the personal appearance of such person at the place appointed to take his trial. All persons brought before justices, &c. accused of any capital crime in the execution of their duty may be admitted to bail, and may postpone their trials, in order to the matter being heard in another colony." This act was entitled "An act for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots, in the province of Massachusetts-bay.

A fourth act was passed the same session, relative to the government of Quebec. By the first clause of this act, the proclamation of October 7th 1763 was made void after the first of May 1774. By the second clause, the Romish clergy were allowed the exercise of their religion, subject to the king's supremacy, as established by the first of queen Elizabeth; and were entitled to receive their accustomed dues and rights from persons professing the Romish religion; with a proviso that his majesty shall not be disabled from making such provision for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy as he shall think fit. By the third clause, all Canadian subjects, except religious orders and communities, were to hold all their properties, &c. as if the proclamation had never been made; and all controversies relative to property and civil rights were to be determined by the Canada laws then in being, or such as might afterwards be enacted by the governor, lieutenant governor and legislative council. By the fourth clause,

clause, the criminal law of England was instituted, subject to such amendments as might afterwards be made by the legislative powers, &c. By the same act, the province of Quebec was extended Southward to the banks of the Ohio, Westward to the banks of the Mississippi, and Northward to the boundaries of the Hudson's-bay company.

These are the most remarkable particulars of the acts of parliament passed in 1773, which proved the immediate means of bringing on the American war. That they were oppressive to the colonists cannot possibly be denied; but we must consider, that they were not passed by the Ministry wantonly, or merely out of a design to oppress the Americans, but with a view to bring them back to what they called their duty. The East India company's property had been destroyed by the inhabitants of the town of Boston. It was proper therefore that the company should be reimbursed by these inhabitants; but as there was no likelihood of satisfaction being voluntarily made, it was necessary to inflict a punishment on the town itself by shutting up their port, or some other means, until they returned so far to their duty as to do the justice required of them. The colony of Massachusetts-bay was exceedingly refractory, and abused the liberties they enjoyed by king William's charter; therefore it was necessary to take that charter from them, and put them under such a government as would probably keep them more securely in dependence on the British legislature. The most severe law was that regarding murder and other capital crimes; for by this the lives of the inhabitants were put very much in the power of the revenue officers; and to accept of bail for a person accused of murder was a thing unheard of. From the distracted state of the province, however, the danger appeared to lie on the other side; and the revenue officers seemed to be in much greater danger from the people, than the people were from them. This law was therefore considered as just in the situation in which matters
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at that time were ; but as it was hoped they would not always remain in such confusion, the law was only enacted for three years.

This is what might be alledged on the ministerial side of the question ; but it was easy to see, that while the grand question concerning the power of the British parliament to tax America remained undecided, no restrictions nor punishments could possibly be considered by the colonists as chastisements designed to bring them back to a sense of their duty, but rather as acts of tyranny and oppression, and exertions of that arbitrary power which parliament would not fail some time or other to exercise, though no resistance had been made.

In the latter view, these laws were held by the colonists as we have already hinted. A general alarm was spread from one end of the continent to the other ; and the penal laws, instead of dividing, became the means of uniting the colonies much closer than before. They said it was now visible that charters, grants, or established usages were no longer a protection or defence ; but that all rights, immunities, and civil privileges must vanish at the breath of parliament. They were all sensible that in effect they were equally guilty with the town of Boston ; and therefore that the same vengeance in some shape or other would probably overtake them all. The other colonies had not indeed proceeded to such violent acts as the Bostonians and inhabitants of Massachusetts-bay had done ; but they all denied the authority of parliament to tax them, which was sufficient to render them obnoxious to the ministry.

On the 13th of March 1774, General Gage arrived at Boston, where, as already observed, he had been appointed governor. Just before he arrived, a copy of the bill for shutting up the port had been brought by a ship from London. This threw the people into the utmost consternation ; and a town-meeting was sitting to consider of it at the time the governor arrived. At this meeting, resolutions were made,

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and ordered to be transmitted to the rest of the colonies, inviting them to join in an agreement to stop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain and the West Indies until the port-act was repealed; which they said, was the only means left for preserving the liberties of America. Copies of the act in the mean time were printed in prodigious numbers, and dispatched into all parts of the continent; and thus the whole continent was set in a flame. At Boston and New York the populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning paper with a black border, which they cried about the streets under the title of a barbarous, bloody, and inhuman murder. In other places, great bodies of the people were called together by public advertisement, and the obnoxious law burnt with great solemnity.

This combustion, however, did not hinder governor Gage from being received with the usual honours at Boston; but the concord between him and the people he was sent to govern, proved of short duration. The new assembly of the province met of course in a few days, the council being, for the last time, chosen according to their charter. The governor gave them notice of their removal to the town of Salem, according to the act of parliament on the first of June. To avoid this removal, the assembly were hurrying through the necessary business of the supplies with the greatest expedition, that they might adjourn themselves to such time as they thought proper. But the governor having got intelligence of their design, unexpectedly adjourned them to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. Previous to this adjournment, they had presented a petition to the governor for appointing a day of general prayer and fasting; but which he did not think proper to comply with.

In the mean time, provincial, or town meetings, were held in every part of the continent; in which, though some were much more moderate than others, the greatest disapprobation of the coercive measures used

used with Boston was universally expressed. The house of burgesses of Virginia appointed the first of June, the day on which the Boston port bill took place, to be set apart for fasting, prayer, and humiliation, to implore the divine interposition to avert the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, with the evils of civil war; and to give one heart and one mind to the people firmly to oppose every injury to the American rights. This example was followed, or a similar resolution adopted almost every where; and the first of June became a general day of prayer and humiliation throughout the continent.

This resolution produced the immediate dissolution of the house of burgesses; but before their separation, 89 of the members entered into an association, in which they declared, that an attack made upon one colony to force them to submit to arbitrary taxes, was an attack on all British America, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole was applied in prevention. They therefore recommended to the committee of correspondence, to communicate with the several committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies to meet annually in general congress, and to deliberate on those measures which the united interests of America might from time to time render necessary. They concluded with a declaration that a tender regard for the interests of their fellow-subjects the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, prevented them from going further at that time. At Philadelphia, about 300 of the inhabitants immediately met, and appointed a committee to write to the town of Boston. They observed that all lenient applications for redress should be tried before recourse was had to extremities; that it might perhaps be right to take the sense of a general congress before the desperate measure of putting an entire stop to commerce was adopted; and that it might be right

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at any rate to reserve that measure as the last resource when all other means had failed. They observed, that if the making restitution to the East India company for their teas would put an end to the unhappy controversy, and leave the people of Boston upon their ancient footing of constitutional liberty, it could not admit of a moment's doubt what part they should act; but it was not the value of the tea, it was the indefeasible right of giving and granting their own money, a right from which they could never recede, that was now the matter in consideration. At New York a town meeting was also held, and a committee of correspondence appointed; but here they were as yet very moderate. The case was far otherwise, however, at Annapolis in Maryland. Here the people, though under a proprietary government, exceeded all the other colonies in violence. They passed a resolution to prevent the carrying on of any suits in the courts of the province, for the debts that were owing by them to Great Britain. But this resolution was not confirmed by the provincial meeting, nor any where carried into execution. In general, the proposal for shutting up the ports, (former proposals of that kind having been greatly abused in order to procure gain to individuals) was received with great coldness and hesitation. But in other respects, the most violent resentment was expressed against the Boston-port-bill, and the ministry who had framed it. The assembly of Massachusetts bay, in the mean time having met at Salem, in obedience to the act, the animosities between the members, the assembly, and their governor became so high, that it was dissolved on the 17th of June, ten days after it had been removed to Salem. The immediate cause of its being dissolved, was the passing of a declaratory resolution expressive of their sense of the state of public affairs, and the designs of government. They advanced, that they along with the other colonies, had long been struggling under the heavy hand of power; that their dutiful petitions for the redress of intolerable

able grievances had not only been neglected, but that the design totally to alter the free constitution and civil government in British America, to establish arbitrary governments, and to reduce the inhabitants to slavery, appeared to be more and more fixed and determined. They then recommended, in the strongest terms, to the inhabitants of the province totally to renounce the consumption of India teas, and, as far as in them lay, to discontinue the use of all goods imported from the East Indies and Great Britain, until the public grievances of America should be radically and totally redressed. And the more effectually to carry this purpose into execution, it was strongly recommended that they should give every possible encouragement to the manufactures of America.

The day after the dissolution of the assembly at Salem, a most pathetic address was presented by the merchants and freeholders of that place to governor Gage. "We are deeply affected, (say they) with a sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the province, greatly excite our commiseration, and we hope your excellency will use your endeavours to prevent a further accumulation of evils on that already sorely distressed people. By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart. And, were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

Soon after this, rough draughts of the two remaining bills relative to Massachusetts's bay, as well as another for quartering the troops in America, were received at Boston. This completed the violence and indignation of the colonies. Even those who had before

before been most moderate, now talked in the same strain with the rest; the shutting up their ports came to be considered as a matter of necessity, and the idea soon became familiar. Some were so violent that they were for coming to extremities at once. An agreement was framed by the committee of correspondence at Boston, which they entitled the *Solemn League and Covenant*. By this, the subscribers bound themselves in the most solemn manner, and in the presence of God, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, from the last day of the ensuing month of August, until the Boston-port-bill, and other obnoxious acts were repealed. They also bound themselves in the same manner, not to consume, or to purchase from any other, any goods whatever, which arrived after the time specified, and to break off all commerce, trade, and dealings with any who did, as well as with the importers of such goods. They renounced, in the same manner, all future intercourse and connection with those who should refuse to subscribe to that Covenant, or to bind themselves by a similar agreement; with the dangerous penalty annexed, of having their names published to the world.

This covenant, with a letter from the committee at Boston, was circulated with the usual activity, and the people, not only in the New-England governments, but in the other provinces, entered into the new league with great eagerness. Similar agreements, however, were about this time entered into in various parts of the continent, without any previous knowledge of each other.

This association alarmed General Gage. He therefore published a proclamation, dated June 29th, in which the Solemn League was stiled an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination; contrary to the allegiance due to the King, destructive of the lawful authority of the British Parliament, and of the peace, good order and safety of the community. All people were warned to avoid the pains and penalties incurred by such dangerous offences, &c.—If this procla-

mation had any effect, it was a bad one. Such as were versed in the knowledge of the law, endeavoured to shew that the association did not come within any of the treason laws, and that the charges made by the governor were, of consequence, erroneous, unjust, and highly injurious. They said he had assumed a power which the constitution denied even to the King; namely, the power of making those things treason which were not considered as such by the laws; that the people had a right to assemble, to consider of their common grievances, and to form associations for their general conduct for the removal of these grievances; and that the proclamation was equally arbitrary, odious, and illegal.

Measures were now every where taken for the holding of a general Congress. Philadelphia was fixed upon as the most convenient place, and the beginning of September as the time for holding it. When an assembly happened to be sitting, as in the case of Massachusetts's bay, they appointed deputies to represent the province in Congress. But as this happened to be the case in very few instances, the general method was for the people to elect their usual number of representatives; and these, at a general meeting, chose deputies from among themselves; the number of which, in general, bore some proportion to the extent and importance of the province; two being the least, and seven the greatest number that represented any colony. But whatever the number of representatives were, each colony had no more than a single vote.

All this time, however, the Bostonians were severely feeling the effects of the port-bill. Liberal contributions had indeed been raised for them in the different colonies; but it may be easily imagined, that in a town containing 20,000 inhabitants, who had always subsisted by commerce, that the cutting off that grand source of their employment and subsistence must, notwithstanding any temporary reliefs, occasion great and numerous distresses. Even the rich

were

were not exempt from this general calamity, as a very great part of their property consisted in wharfs, warehouses, sheds, &c. They, however, bore their misfortunes with wonderful resolution; and in this they were encouraged by the sympathy they met with from their neighbours. The inhabitants of the town of Marble-head were among those who might have profited by the ruin of the Bostonians. But they, instead of endeavouring to reap the fruits of their neighbours calamity, generously sent them an offer of the use of their stores and wharfs, of attending to the lading and unlading of their goods, and of transacting all the business they should do at their port, without putting them to the smallest expence; but at the same time, they exhorted them to persevere with the same patience and resolution which they had hitherto shown.

Soon after the General's arrival in his government, two regiments of foot, with a small detachment of the artillery, and some cannon were landed at Boston, and encamped on a common which lies within the peninsula on which the town stands. These troops were by degrees reinforced by the arrival of several regiments from Ireland, New-York, Halifax, and at last from Quebec. The arrival and station of these troops filled the inhabitants of Boston and the neighbouring country, with the greatest apprehension and jealousy; which was heightened by the placing of a guard at *Boston-neck*, the narrow Isthmus that joins the peninsula to the continent. For this last measure, the frequent desertion of the soldiers was given as the cause.

Every thing now seemed to tend towards those measures which have since been unhappily prosecuted. The people in the different counties became every day more outrageous. In the counties of Berkshire and Worcester particularly, nothing was to be heard of, but the procuring of ammunition, casting balls, &c. and every other preparation, which indicated the most determined resolution for resistance and war. The new

laws arrived at Boston about the beginning of August. Thirty-six new counsellors were appointed by his Majesty, agreeable to the last made regulations. Twenty-four of these accepted their offices, which was a sufficient number for carrying on the business of government. But all who accepted of any offices under the new laws, or prepared to act in conformity to them, were now every where declared enemies to their country. The new judges were in all places rendered incapable of proceeding in their office. Upon opening the courts, the great and petty Juries unanimously refused to be sworn, or to act in any manner under the new judges and the new laws. The acting otherwise, was deemed so heinous an offence, that the clerks of the courts found it necessary to acknowledge their repentance in the public papers for issuing the warrants, by which the Juries were summoned to attend; and to promise, that if their countrymen would forgive them at that time, they never would be guilty of the like offence again. At Great Barrington and some other places, the people assembled in numerous bodies, and filled the courthouse and avenues in such a manner, that neither the judges nor their officers, could obtain admittance. On the sheriffs commanding them to make way for the court, they answered, that they knew of no court nor other establishment, independent of the ancient laws and usages of their country; and to none other would they submit, or give way upon any terms. The new counsellors were still more unfortunate than the judges. Their houses were surrounded by great bodies of people, to whom they must either submit, or suffer the fury of an enraged populace. Most of them submitted to the former condition; but some had the good luck to escape to Boston, by which they evaded the danger.

The old constitution being taken away by act of parliament, and the new one rejected by the people, an end was put to all forms of law whatever in the province of Massachusetts-bay. But though the
people

people were now reduced to the same state of anarchy in which all nations are supposed to have been originally, yet such is the effect of long established custom and submission to laws, that no marks of disorder were perceived in this province, farther than the general opposition to government, which had plainly enough appeared before.

General Gage, in the mean time, thought it necessary to take some means for the preservation of himself and the troops that were with him. He therefore fortified the Isthmus which afforded the only communication between the town and the continent by land. This raised a prodigious outcry among the Americans, which we cannot but look upon as exceedingly unreasonable; they themselves having given such abundant proofs of their hostile disposition. Another measure produced yet greater disturbances. The season of the year now arrived for the annual muster of the militia; but the general being suspicious of their conduct when assembled, seized upon the ammunition and stores lodged in the provincial arsenal at Cambridge, and had them brought to Boston. At the same time he seized on the powder which was lodged in the magazines at Charlestown and some other places, being partly private, and partly provincial property. The complaints of the Americans on this occasion also must appear to every sober person to be very unreasonable. They had avowed in the most open manner a design to make war on the King, if their terms were not complied with. For this purpose, they had collected these quantities of ammunition which were now seized: yet, as if all their own outrages ought to have gone for nothing, the seizing of these stores was held out to be as great an invasion of property as if they had been taken from private persons in the time of profound peace. The people now assembled to the number of several thousands; and it was with the utmost difficulty that some of the more moderate and leading men of the country were able

able to prevent them from marching directly to Boston, there to demand a delivery of the stores, or, in case of a refusal, to attack the troops. A false report was at this time intentionally spread and extended to Connecticut, probably to try the temper of the people, that the ships and troops had attacked the town of Boston, and were firing upon it when the pretended messengers came away. On this several thousands of armed people immediately assembled, and marched with great expedition to the relief of their distressed brethren as they imagined: nor were they convinced of their mistake till they were got to a considerable distance.

So general was the spirit of disobedience and resistance to the British government now become, that about this time the Governor's company of cadets, consisting wholly of gentlemen of Boston, and such as had been always well affected to government, disbanded themselves and returned General Gage the standard, with which, according to custom, he had presented them on his arrival. This proceeded from the general's having deprived John Hancock, who was colonel of that corps, of his commission; and at the same time, a colonel Murray having accepted of a seat in the new council, 24 officers of his regiment resigned their places in one day.

The late measure of seizing the powder, as well as the fortifying Boston-neck, occasioned the holding of an assembly of delegates from all the towns in the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the capital. In this, the most firm and obstinate resistance was determined. It was *recommended*, (which in the present state of things was equal to *commanding* in the most peremptory manner) to the collectors of the taxes, and all other receivers and holders of the public money, not to pay it as usual to the treasurer; but to detain it in their hands until the civil government of the province was placed on a constitutional foundation; or until it should be otherwise ordered by the provincial Congress. Still however, they
professed

professed their loyalty, and on the 9th of September, appointed a committee to wait on the governor with a remonstrance against fortifying Boston-neck. In this they declared, that though the loyal people of the county thought themselves oppressed by some late acts of the British parliament, and were resolved, through divine assistance, never to submit to them, yet they had no inclination to commence war with his Majesty's troops. They totally disclaimed every idea of independency, and attributed all the present troubles to misinformation at home, and the evil designs of particular persons.

Some time before this, the governor, by the advice of his new council, had issued writs for the holding of a general assembly to meet in the beginning of October; but by reason of the succeeding ferments, it was thought expedient to countermand the writs by proclamation, and defer the holding of the assembly to a more proper opportunity. The legality of this proclamation, however, was denied, and the elections took place every where without regard to it. The new members accordingly met at Salem pursuant to the precepts; but having waited a day, without the governor, or any substitute for him attending, they voted themselves into a provincial Congress to be joined by such as had been, or should be afterwards, elected for that purpose. After this, Mr Hancock was chosen chairman, and the assembly adjourned to Concord, about 20 miles from Boston.

Among the earliest proceedings of this assembly, was their appointing a committee to wait upon the governor with an apology for their meeting contrary to his proclamation. They represented that the distressed state of the province had rendered it necessary to take the opinion of the people by their delegates, in order to fall upon some method to prevent impending ruin, and provide for the public safety. They then expressed the most grievous apprehensions from the measures then pursuing: They asserted that even the rigour of the Boston-port-bill was exceeded
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by the manner in which it was carried into execution. They complained of the late laws, calculated not only to abridge the people of their rights, but to license murders ; of the number of troops in the capital, which were daily increasing by new accessions drawn from every part of the continent ; together with the formidable and hostile preparations in Boston-neck ; all tending to endanger the lives, liberties and properties, not only of the people of Boston, but of the whole province in general. To this General Gage replied, by expressing his indignation that any idea should be formed, that the lives, liberties or property of the people should be in danger from English troops. That notwithstanding the enmity shewn to the troops, by withholding from them almost every necessary for their preservation, they had not yet discovered the resentment which might justly be expected from such hostile treatment. He reminded the Congress, that, while they made complaints of the alterations of their charter by acts of parliament, they themselves were, by their assembling in that manner, subverting their charter, and now acting in direct violation of their own constitution ; and in the strongest terms, advised them to desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings.

On the approach of winter, the General had ordered temporary barracks to be erected for the troops, partly for safety, and partly to prevent the disorders and mischiefs which must ensue if they were quartered upon the inhabitants. Such, however, was the general dissatisfaction with their being provided for in any way, that the select men and the committees, obliged the workmen to quit their employment though the money for their labour would have been paid by the Crown. It was found impossible also to procure carpenters from New-York ; so that the General had the greatest difficulty in getting these temporary lodgments erected ; and having endeavoured also to procure some winter covering from New-York, the offer to purchase it was presented to every merchant there,

who

who to a man refused their compliance, returning for answer, that "they never would supply any article for the benefit of men who were sent as enemies to their country."

While things remained in this deplorable situation, the mutual animosities were rendered, if possible, worse, by a measure which scarce seems to have been necessary. A detachment of sailors from the ships of war were landed by night, who spiked up all the cannon on one of the principal batteries belonging to the town. In the mean time, the provincial Congress, notwithstanding the admonitions of the Governor, continued their assemblies. Their resolutions, thro' the disposition of the people, now acquired the force of laws, and they seemed in fact to have founded a new and independent government. Under the pretence of recommendation and advice, they settled the militia; regulated the public treasures, and provided arms. They appointed also a day of public thanksgiving, in which, among other blessings, they mentioned the happy union which prevailed among the colonies, and for which they particularly returned thanks to God. These, and similar measures, induced General Gage to issue a proclamation, dated Nov. 10. 1774, in which, though the direct terms of *treason* and *rebellion* are avoided, the Congress was indirectly charged with these crimes, and the inhabitants of the province were, in the King's name, forbid to comply with any of the requisitions of that unlawful assembly.

In the mean time, the general Congress had been held at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, as was proposed. To avoid prolixity, I shall here only take notice of the three most remarkable acts of this famous assembly. The first was the American association, or non-importation Agreement; and as no abridgement can be sufficiently expressive of their meaning, we shall give it in their own words: "We, his Majesty's most loyal subjects, &c. having taken under our most serious deliberation the state of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation

ation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of colony administration adopted by the British Ministry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enslaving these colonies, and with them, the British Empire. In prosecution of which system, various acts of parliament have been passed for raising a revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances of the constitutional trial by Jury, exposing their lives to danger by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alledged to have been committed in America; and, in prosecution of the same system, several late, cruel, and oppressive acts have been passed respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts bay, and also an act for extending the province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country: thus, by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices, to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant colonies, whenever a wicked ministry shall chuse so to direct them.

“ To obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his Majesty’s subjects in North America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure; and therefore we do, for ourselves, and the inhabitants of the several colonies, whom we represent, firmly agree and associate, under the sacred ties of virtue, honour, and the love of our country, as follows:

“ First, That from and after the first day of December next, we will not import into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandize whatsoever, or from any other place, any such goods, wares, or merchandize, as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; nor will

will we, after that day, import any East India tea, from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento, from the British plantations, or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the western Islands; nor foreign Indigo.

Second, That we will neither import, nor purchase any slave imported, after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures, to those who are concerned in it.

Third, As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that from this day, we will not purchase, or use any tea, imported on account of the East India company; or any on which a duty hath been, or shall be paid: and from and after the first day of March next, we will not use or purchase any East India tea whatever; nor will we, nor shall any person for, or under us, purchase or use any of those goods, wares, or merchandize we have agreed not to import, which we shall know, or have cause to suspect, were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article herein after mentioned.

Fourth, The earnest desire we have, not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great-Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation, until the 10th of September 1775; at which time, if the said acts and parts of acts of the British parliament herein after mentioned, are not repealed, we will not, directly, or indirectly, export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever, to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, except rice to Europe.

Fifth, Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders, as soon as possible, to their factors, agents, and correspondents, in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them

on any pretence whatever, as they cannot be received in America: and if any merchant, residing in Great Britain or Ireland, shall, directly or indirectly, ship any goods, wares, or merchandize for America, in order to break the said non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and, on the same being so done, we will not from thenceforth, have any commercial connection with such merchant.

Sixth, That such as are owners of vessels, will give positive orders to their captains or masters, not to receive on board their vessels, any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismissal from their service.

Seventh, We will use our utmost endeavours, to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent; and to that end, we will kill them as sparing as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor will we export any to the West Indies or elsewhere: and those of us who are, or may become over-stocked with, or can conveniently spare any sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbours, especially to the poorer sort, on moderate terms.

Eighth, That we will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, oeconomy, and industry; and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool: and will discountenance and discourage, every species of extravagance and dissipation; especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments. And, on the death of any friend or relation, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning dress, than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat for gentlemen, and a black ribbon and necklace for ladies; and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfs at funerals.

Ninth,

Ninth, That such as are venders of goods or merchandize, will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to do for twelve months last past. And if any vender of goods or merchandize, shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall in any manner, or by any device whatsoever, violate or depart from this agreement, no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

Tenth, In case any merchant, trader, or other persons, shall import any goods or merchandize after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either re-shipped, or delivered up, to the committee of the county or town wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risque of the importer, until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the committee aforesaid; and, in the last mentioned case, the owner or owners of such goods, shall be reimbursed (out of the sales) the first costs and charges; the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston as are immediate sufferers by the Boston-port-bill; and a particular account of all goods so returned, stored, or sold, to be inserted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandizes shall be imported after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

Eleventh, That a committee be chosen in every county, city and town, by those who are qualified to vote for representatives in the legislature; whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association; that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the Gazette, to the end, that all such foes

to the rights of British America, may be publicly known, and universally condemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth, we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

Twelfth, That the committee of correspondence in the respective colonies, do frequently inspect the entries of their custom-houses, and inform each other from time to time, of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to their association.

Thirteenth, That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices; so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

Fourteenth, And we do further agree and resolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, or dealings, or intercourse whatsoever, with any colony or province in North America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country."

From this Congress, an address was also sent to the inhabitants of Great Britain; the most remarkable parts of it are the following: "We consider ourselves," say they, "and do insist, that we are, and ought to be, as free as our fellow subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our consent. That we claim all the benefits secured to the subject by the English constitution, particularly, the inestimable one, of trial by Jury. That we hold it essential to English liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence. That we think the legislature of Great Britain is not authorised by the constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe. These rights, we, as well as you, deem sacred. And yet, sacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated. Are not the

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proprietors of the soil of Great Britain lords of their own property? Can it be taken from them without their consent? Will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any man, or number of men whatever? You know they will not. Why then are the proprietors of the soil of America, less lords of their property than you are of yours; or why should they submit it to the disposal of your parliament, or any other parliament or council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us, cause disparity of rights; or can any reason be given, why English subjects, who live 3000 miles from the Royal Palace, should enjoy less liberty than those who are 300 miles distant from it?

“ Before we had recovered from the distresses which attend war, an attempt was made to drain this country of all its money by the oppressive stamp-act. Paint, glass, and other commodities, which you would not permit us to purchase of other nations were taxed; nay, altho’ no wine is made in any country subject to the British state, you prohibited our procuring it of foreigners, without paying a tax, imposed by your parliament, on all we imported. These and many other impositions were laid upon us most unjustly and unconstitutionally, for the express purpose of raising a revenue. In order to silence complaint, it was indeed provided, that this revenue should be expended in America for its protection and defence. These exactions, however, can receive no justification from a pretended necessity of protecting and defending us. They are lavishly squandered on court favourites and ministerial dependants, generally avowed enemies to America, and employing themselves by partial representations to traduce and embroil the colonies. For the necessary support of government here, we ever were, and ever shall be ready to provide. And, whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, we shall, as we have heretofore done, cheerfully contribute our full proportion of men and money.

E. f. 3.

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“ When the design of raising a revenue from the duties imposed on the importation of tea into America had in a great measure been rendered abortive by our ceasing to import that commodity, a scheme was concerted by the ministry with the East India Company, and an act passed, enabling and encouraging them to transport and vend it in the colonies. Aware of the danger of giving success to this insidious manœuvre, and of permitting a precedent of taxation thus to be established among us, various methods were taken to elude the stroke. The people of Boston, then ruled by a governor, whom, as well as his predecessor, Sir Francis Bernard, all America considers as her enemy, were exceedingly embarrassed. The ships which had arrived with the tea were by his management prevented from returning. The duties would have been paid; the cargoes landed, and exposed to sale; a governor's influence would have procured and protected many purchasers. While the town was suspended by deliberations on this important subject, the tea was destroyed. Even suppose a trespass had been committed, and the proprietors of the tea intitled to damages, the courts of law were open, and judges appointed by the Crown presided in them. The East India Company, however, did not think proper to commence any suits, nor did they even demand satisfaction either from individuals, or the community in general. The ministry, it seems, officiously made the case their own; and the great council of the nation descended to intermeddle with a dispute about private property. Divers papers, letters, and other unauthenticated *ex parte* evidence were laid before them; neither the persons who destroyed the tea, nor the town of Boston were called upon to answer the complaint. The ministry, incensed by being disappointed in a favourite scheme, were determined to recur, from the little arts of finesse, to open force and unmanly violence. The port of Boston was blocked up by a fleet, and an army placed in the town. Their trade was to be suspended.

suspended, and thousands reduced to the necessity of gaining subsistence from charity, till they should submit to pass under the yoke, and consent to become slaves, by owning the omnipotence of parliament, and acquiescing in whatever disposition they might think proper to make of their lives and property.

“ Let justice and humanity cease to be the boast of your nation ! consult your history, examine your records of former transactions, nay, turn to the many annals of the many arbitrary states and kingdoms that surround you, and shew us a single instance of men being condemned to suffer for crimes *unheard, unquestioned*, and without even the specious *formality of a trial* ; and that too by laws made expressly for the purpose, and which had no existence at the time of the fact being committed.

“ Now mark the progression of the ministerial plan for enslaving us.

“ Well aware that such hardy attempts (to take our property from us—to deprive us of that valuable right, of trial by jury—to seize our persons, and carry us for trial to Great Britain—to blockade our ports—to destroy our charters, and change our forms of government) would occasion, and had already occasioned great discontent in all the colonies, which might produce opposition to these measures, an act was passed, “ to protect, indemnify, and screen from punishment such as might be guilty even of *murder*, in endeavouring to carry their oppressive edict into execution ;” and by another act “ the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled, and governed,” as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests by civil as well as religious prejudices, that, by their numbers swelling with Catholic Emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to administration, so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient free Protestant colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves.

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“ This being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to consider to what end they lead.

“ Admit that the ministry, by the powers of Great Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbours, should be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and slavery : such an enterprize would doubtless make some addition to your national debt, which already presses down your liberties, and fills you with pensioners and place-men. We presume also that your commerce will be somewhat diminished : however, should you prove victorious, in what condition will you then be ? What advantages, or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest ?

“ May not a ministry, with the same armies, enslave you ? It may be said, “ you will cease to pay them ;—but remember the taxes from America, the wealth, and, we may add, the *men*, and particularly, the Roman Catholics of this vast continent, will then be in the power of your enemies ; nor will you have reason to expect, that after making slaves of us, many among us should refuse to assist in reducing you to the same abject state.

“ Do not treat this as chimerical :—Know that in less than half a century, the quit-rents reserved to the Crown, from the numberless grants of this vast continent, will pour large streams of wealth into the Royal coffers ; and if to this be added, the power of taxing America at pleasure, the Crown will be rendered independent on you for supplies, and will possess more treasure than may be necessary to purchase the remains of liberty in your island. In a word, take care that you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us.

“ But if you are determined, that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind, if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an *impious cause*, we must then tell

tell you, "That we never will submit to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, for any ministry or nation in the world."

This address was dated Oct. 20. 1774, and, six days after, another was sent to the inhabitants of Canada, in which they set forth the blessings of liberty, and the danger of being enslaved by the British ministry; and endeavoured to persuade them to stand neutral in the contest. In November, a petition was sent to the King, part of which, as being very remarkable, and containing a full account of the American grievances as they themselves viewed them.

"To the King's most excellent Majesty.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We your Majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on the Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves, and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general Congress, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

"A standing army has been kept in these colonies ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies; and this army, with a considerable naval armament, has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

"The authority of the commander in chief, and, under him, of the brigadiers general, has, in time of peace, been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

"The commander in chief of all your Majesty's forces in North America, has, in time of peace, been appointed governor of a colony. The charges of usual offices have been greatly increased, and new, expensive, and oppressive offices, have been multiplied.

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“ The judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts, are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves. The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate founded on legal information.

“ The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions. Counsellors, holding their commissions during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

“ Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been fruitless.

“ The agents of the people have been discountenanced, and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries: assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved, and commerce burdened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

“ By several acts of parliament made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eight years of your present Majesty's reign, duties are imposed on us for the purpose of raising a revenue, and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are extended beyond their ancient limits; whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences; vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

“ Both houses of parliament have resolved that colonists may be tried in England for offences alleged to have been committed in America, by virtue of a statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII. and, in consequence thereof, attempts have been made to enforce that statute. A statute was passed in the twelfth year of your Majesty's reign, directing that persons charged with committing

ting any offences therein described, in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm ; whereby the inhabitants of these colonies may, in sundry cases, by that statute, made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

“ In the last Sessions of Parliament, an act was passed for blocking up the harbour of Boston ; another empowering the Governor of Massachusetts-bay to send persons indicted for murder in that province to another colony, or even to Great Britain for trial, whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment ; a third, for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province ; and a fourth, for extending the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English, and restoring the French laws ; whereby great numbers of British freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government, and the Roman Catholic Religion throughout those vast regions, that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free Protestant English settlements ; and a fifth, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North America.

“ To a sovereign “ who glories in the name of Briton,” the bare recital of these acts must, we presume, justify the loyal subjects who fly to the foot of his throne, and implore his clemency for protection against them.

“ From this destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears and jealousies, that overwhelm your Majesty's dutiful colonies with affliction ; and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies to have the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies from an earlier period, or from other causes than we have assigned. Had they proceeded on our part from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should
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merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed on us by those we revere.

“ But so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them ; and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one to receive injuries and to be sensible of them.

“ Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit ; but thanks to his adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne, to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the Popery and Despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant.

“ Your Majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices that your title to the Crown is founded on the title of your people to liberty ; and therefore we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from divine providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact, which elevated the illustrious House of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

“ The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the pre eminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which, though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal feeling as men, and thinking as subjects, in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do *all in our power* to promote the great objects of your royal cares, the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people.”—

These public acts being passed, the Congress broke up on the 52d day after they had met, with a resolution to meet again on the 10th of May 1775.—

Whatever we may determine with regard to the justice

flice of their cause, it cannot be denied, that the petition and addresses from the Congress were executed with uncommon energy and ability, and with respect to language, vigour of mind, and sentiments of patriotism, *pretended*, at least, would have done honour to any orational assembly that ever existed.

No great effects, however, were produced on the minds of the British by any of the performances of the Congress. The minds of the people seemed to be quite indifferent, nor did even the great commercial bodies seem to be much interested in an event that threatened to affect them so very much. The fact was, that most people imagined the Americans would not venture to make war on the mother country. It was thought that the Americans themselves would grow tired; and perhaps an opinion of the *invincible* power of Great Britain insensibly occupied the minds of most people, so that no doubt was entertained of conquest, provided the matter was finally to be determined by force of arms. On Sept. 30. 1774, the parliament had been dissolved by proclamation, and a new one appointed to meet on Oct. 29. following. American business, however, was not entered upon immediately. The Ministry, though determined to adhere to coercive measures, were somewhat apprehensive of meeting with a vigorous opposition at last; and these fears, indeed, appeared to be well founded. During the recess of parliament, a general alarm took place, and the merchants of London and Bristol, finding themselves likely to become great sufferers, prepared petitions to parliament.—The first thing of any consequence was the appearance of the Earl of Chatham in the House of Lords, Jan. 20. 1775. He had for a long time been absent; and this, together with the character he had formerly born with the nation, contributed to make his appearance in the present crisis, seem to be a matter of greater importance. He moved an address to his Majesty, for immediately recalling the troops from Boston. An hour, he said, lost at that

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time, in allaying the ferments in America, might produce years of calamity; the situation of them with the Americans made them continually liable to events which would cut off all possibility of reconciliation; but this conciliatory measure, as it shewed good will and affection on the part of the British, could not fail of producing the happiest effects. The motion, however, was rejected by a majority of 68 to 18. This division was rendered remarkable, by having a Prince of the Blood, (his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland) for the first time in the minority.

Jan. 23. The petition from the merchants of London was presented to the House of Commons, by an Alderman who was also a member of parliament. At the same time, he moved, that it might be referred to the committee who were appointed to take the American papers into consideration. The Ministry, however, perceiving that now they were in danger of being overwhelmed with petitions from all quarters, appointed a separate committee to examine them. The reason given for this measure was, that these petitions were to be viewed in a commercial, and not in a political light; and therefore, it would be the highest absurdity to suppose that a committee, whose thoughts were occupied by politics, should have their meditations disturbed by commerce; as if the commercial interests of Britain were distinct, or could ever be separated from her political ones. The point, however, being carried by a great majority, a committee was appointed to inspect the petitions; and as no notice was ever taken of any of them by this committee, it was by the opposition called the *Committee of Oblivion*.

On the 26th of the same month, a petition was offered from Mr Bollon, Dr Franklin and Mr Lee, three American agents; stating, that they were authorised by the Congress, to present a petition from the Congress to the King; which petition, his Majesty had referred to that House; that they were enabled to
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throw great light upon the subject; and prayed to be heard at the bar in support of the said petition. This produced a violent debate, which ended in the rejection of the petition, by a majority of 218 to 68.

Feb. 1. The Earl of Chatham brought in a bill, which, he said, he hoped would answer the salutary purpose expressed in its title. It was entituled, "A provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." This bill legalized the holding a Congress in the ensuing month of May, for the double purpose of duly recognizing the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of parliament over the colonies, and for making a free grant to the King, his heirs and successors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, subject to the disposition of parliament, and to be applied to the alleviation of the national debt. Supposing that this free aid would bear an honourable proportion to the great and flourishing state of the colonies, the necessities of the mother country, and their obligations to her; on these conditions, it restrained the powers of the Admiralty courts to their ancient limits, and, without repealing, suspended for a limited time those late acts, or parts of acts which had been complained of in the petition from the Congress. It placed the judges on the same footing with respect to the holding their salaries and offices with those in England; and secured to the colonies all the privileges, franchises and immunities granted by their several charters and constitutions. It was laid down, however, as a maxim not to be controverted, that the supremacy of the British legislature, and the superintending power of parliament, was to be acknowledged by the Americans. He did not absolutely decide on the right of taxation, but as a matter of compromise declared, that no tallage, tax, or other charge should be levied but by the common consent of their provincial assemblies. He asserted as an undoubted prerogative the royal right, to send any part of a legal

army to any part of his dominions at all times, and in all seasons. He condemned a passage in the American petition which militates with that right; but, as a salvo, he declared, that no military force, however legally raised and kept, could ever be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just rights of the people. This last declaration, however, it was said, would afford little relief to a people groaning under the pressure of a military government; as whoever held the sword, would decide upon the question of law.

This conciliatory plan, however, and some others, were rejected, and on Feb. 10. a bill was brought in to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts's bay and New-Hampshire; the colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Providence plantations, to Great Britain, the British Islands and the West Indies: and to prohibit them from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time. This bill met with great opposition, but was at last carried, notwithstanding some petitions against it were presented during the time of the debate.

While matters were thus hastening towards the fatal conclusion to which they have since arrived, Lord North surprised both parties by making the following conciliatory motion, "That when the governor, council, and assembly, or General Court of his Majesty's provinces or colonies shall propose to make provision, according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence of the country, such proportion was to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage also to make provision for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal should be approved of by his Majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made

made accordingly, to forbear in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it might be expedient to lay on for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation respectively.

On the 9th of March, another bill was brought in to restrain the trade of the southern colonies to Great Britain and the British Islands in the West Indies, under certain conditions and limitations, and for a limited time. On this bill there happened no great debate; for though even the ministerial party took notice of the striking contradiction between the conciliatory plan, and these coercive measures, Lord North explained every thing so much to their satisfaction, that all his proposals were carried by a great majority.

The short limits of this treatise will not allow us to give a full account of all the conciliatory proposals, petitions, &c. concerning the Americans, which were now laid before the legislature. It is sufficient to say, that as all the measures adopted by government, either directly asserted, or at least implied a right of unlimited taxation, none of them could be agreeable to the Americans. They now reposed entire confidence in the determinations of the Congress, and a most surprising unanimity prevailed throughout the continent. Great hopes, however, were placed on the success of the petition from the Congress, and their address to the people of England; and a still greater reliance was placed on the effects which the unanimity and determinations of the Congress would produce on public opinions in England. These hopes had for some time a considerable effect in restraining those violences which afterwards took place. The principal leaders, however, and more experienced men, did not appear to build much upon them, and accordingly made preparations for the worst; and as soon as advice was received of a proclamation issued

ed in England to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to America, measures were speedily taken to supply that defect. For this purpose, and to render themselves as independent as possible of foreigners for the supply of these essential articles, mills were erected, and manufactories formed both in Philadelphia and Virginia, for the making of gunpowder, and the fabrication of arms of all sorts. Great difficulties, however, attended these beginnings; and the supply of powder both from the home manufacture and importation was for a long time both scanty and precarious.—As soon as an account was received at Rhode Island of the prohibition on the exportation of military stores from Great Britain, the people seized upon and removed all the ordnance belonging to the Crown in that province, and thus they were furnished with above forty pieces of cannon of different sizes. A captain of a man of war having waited upon the governor to know the meaning of this proceeding, was frankly informed, that the people had seized the cannon to prevent their falling into the hands of the King's forces; and that they meant to make use of them to defend themselves against any power that should offer to molest them. The assembly also passed resolutions for procuring arms and military stores by all means, and from every quarter in which they could be obtained.

This example was soon imitated in other places. On December 14. 1774, a body of armed men assembled in the province of New-Hampshire and attacked a small fort in the province called William and Mary. This was yielded without bloodshed, and the Provincials were supplied with a quantity of powder. No other acts of violence, however, ensued, only, as intelligence of the proceedings in parliament was gradually brought to America, the firm determinations of the colonists for resistance seemed to increase; and the more clearly they saw the resolutions of the British legislature to reduce them by force, the more strenuously they seemed determined to resist.

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The assembly of New-York only seemed an exception. They met on January 10. 1775, and, instead of acceding to the resolutions of the Congress; resolved to lay their grievances before the King, and for some time, flattered themselves that they would be able to procure a lasting reconciliation.

These hopes, however, were built on a very slight foundation. The new provincial Congress of Massachusetts-bay, which met Feb. 1. followed precisely the line chalked out by their predecessors. They inculcated in the strongest manner the necessity for the militia, and especially the minute men *, to perfect themselves in military discipline. Other resolutions were passed for the providing and making of fire arms and bayonets; and against supplying the troops at Boston with any military stores.—A circular letter was sent from the Secretary of State for the American department, forbidding, in the King's name, and under pain of his displeasure, the election of deputies for the ensuing general Congress. But this produced no effect, the elections took place every where, even in the province of New-York, notwithstanding the late resolutions of their assembly.

This letter not being attended to, General Gage resolved to deprive the Americans, as much as possible, of the means of resistance, by seizing their cannon and military stores. Accordingly, on the 26th of Feb. he sent a detachment, under the command of a field officer on board a transport, to seize and bring to Boston some brass cannon the provincials had at Salem. The troops having landed at Marble-head, proceeded to Salem, but did not find the cannon. However, as they imagined they had only been removed that morning, they marched farther into the country, in hopes of overtaking them. In this pursuit, they arrived at a draw-bridge over a small river, where a number of the country-people were assembled ;

* The *minute men* are a select number of militia who undertake to hold themselves ready on all occasions, and at the shortest notice.

bled, and those on the opposite side had taken up the bridge in order to prevent the passage of the military. The commanding officer ordered the bridge to be let down, which the people peremptorily refused, telling him that it was a private road, and he had no right to pass that way. On this refusal, the officer determined to make use of a boat in order to get possession of the bridge; but some of the people jumping into the boat, cut holes in her bottom, by which the officer was disappointed. In doing this, a scuffle ensued, and things were on the point of being carried to extremities, when a clergyman, who was present, prevailed on the Americans to let down the bridge. This being complied with, the soldiers passed the river; but as it was too late to prosecute the design of seizing the cannon, he returned in a short time.

Though this first expedition ended without bloodshed, the following ones were not all equally fortunate. On the 18th of March indeed, the General had the good fortune to secure 3000 pounds weight of ball, and 13,425 musket carriages, which had been collected by the Americans, without meeting with any opposition; but on the 19th of April, having sent a party to seize some cannon and other military stores at Concord, a village near Boston, the event was very different. This party was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Smith, and Major Pitcairn of the marines. It was supposed to consist of 900 men, who embarked in boats the preceeding night, and having gone a little way up Charles' River, landed at a place called Phipps' farm, from whence they proceeded with great silence and expedition towards Concord. Several officers on horseback, in the mean time, scoured the roads, and secured such country people as they could meet with. Notwithstanding these precautions, however, they discovered by the firing of guns, and the ringing of bells, that the country was alarmed, and the people actually began to assemble in the neighbouring towns and villages before

before day-light. On the arrival of the troops at Lexington, about five in the morning, they found the company of militia belonging to that town assembled on a green near the road. Upon this, an officer in the van called out, "Disperse you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse." The soldiers at the same time ran up with loud huzzas; some scattering shots were first fired, and these were immediately succeeded by a general discharge, which killed eight of the militia, and wounded several more.

Both parties were afterwards very eager to prove each other the aggressors in this affair; but, notwithstanding all the inquiries that could be made, it still remains in obscurity. Neither indeed is it a matter of any great consequence, for war had long before been declared in the breasts of both parties; and this seemed only to be setting fire to the train.

The detachment now proceeded to Concord, where they executed their commission by rendering useless the cannon they found there, and throwing some other stores into the river. A body of militia, who observed several fires in the town, which they imagined to proceed from houses on fire, returned that way. The troops fired on them and killed two. The provincials returned the fire; but not being able to cope with the King's troops, they were forced to retreat with the loss of several men killed and wounded, and a lieutenant and some others taken.

The country now rose, and the troops found themselves attacked from every quarter. All the way back to Lexington, which was six miles, the road was filled on both sides with armed men, who firing from behind houses, old walls, and other coverts, exceedingly annoyed them. In all probability, the whole party had been cut off, had not General Gage fortunately detached Lord Piercy with 16 companies of foot, a detachment of marines, and two pieces of cannon to support Colonel Smith. They arrived at Lexington by the time the rest were returned thither; and by this powerful support, the provincials

vincials were repulsed. As soon, however, as the army began their march, the provincials renewed their attack, which they continued all the way to Charlestown; from whence the King's troops passed directly over to Boston, having lost 273 men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The Provincials estimated their loss only at 40 killed, and 20 taken.

C H A P. II.

History of the War, from the commencement of Hostilities in 1775, to the beginning of the year 1779.

THE skirmish at Lexington sufficiently shewed how much those were mistaken who had thought the whole continent of America could be subdued with three or four thousand troops. By the nearest calculation that can be made, there were upwards of 1800 of the best troops the King had, were employed in the Concord expedition, and yet these were obliged to retreat with great precipitation, having marched near 35 miles in one day. It must be observed, however, that this difficulty of conquering America proceeds not from the valour of the Americans themselves. On all occasions, it hath been evident, that the latter are by no means a match for British soldiers even though they greatly exceed them in number. It is the nature of the country itself which proves the insuperable obstacle, and which no human power can remove. It affords so many coverts, and hiding places, that the provincials, who are well acquainted with them, have numberless opportunities of destroying their enemies without any danger to themselves; and of these they have taken care to avail themselves, as we shall have occasion to observe in the sequel.

The affair at Lexington immediately called up the whole province in arms; and though a sufficient number were quickly assembled to invest the troops in Boston,

ston, it was with difficulty that the crowds, who were hastily assembling for this purpose, could be prevailed upon to return home. The town was invested by 20,000 men under the command of Colonels Ward, Pribble, Heath, Prescott, and Thomas, who for the present, acted as Generals; and having fixed their head-quarters at Cambridge, and formed a line of encampment, extending 30 miles in length. This line they strengthened with artillery, and were soon reinforced with a large body of troops under the command of Colonel Putnam, an old officer, and one who had acquired reputation in the two last wars.

General Gage, in the mean time, was, by the provincial Congress, declared a public enemy, and, as far as was in their power, deposed from his government. For some time he continued with the troops closely blocked up in Boston; and being cut off from all supplies of fresh provisions, began soon to experience a real distress. The provincials, knowing that the inhabitants had now no other resource for subsistence than the King's stores, continued the blockade the more closely, hoping that a scarcity of provisions would at last oblige the General to consent to the removal at least of the women and children, and for this application was repeatedly made. At last a kind of capitulation was entered into with the inhabitants; the terms of which were, that on delivering up their arms, they were to have free leave to depart with their other effects. The arms were accordingly delivered up; but after this was done, the governor shamefully refused to fulfil the conditions on his side. This breach of faith was very much complained of, and certainly with great reason. A particular account of the whole transaction was published by the Americans; and as no opposite one appeared on the government side, we may justly conclude that the American complaints were well founded.

On the 25th of May, a strong reinforcement arrived at Boston from England, along with the Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, so that the force there

there was now become very respectable. Nothing, however, of consequence happened till June 12. when a proclamation was issued by General Gage, offering a pardon to those who should lay down their arms and retire to their respective homes, excepting only *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to be expiated, except by condign punishment. All those who did not accept of the proffered mercy, or who should protect, correspond with, or conceal them, were to be treated as rebels and traitors. This proclamation also declared, that as a stop was put to the due course of justice, martial law should take place till the laws could be restored to their former efficacy.

This proclamation had as little effect as any of the former. Hancock was about this time chosen President of the Continental Congress, and the proclamation was considered as a preliminary to immediate action, for which both parties now prepared. The post of Charleston being thought convenient for their purpose by the Provincials, they made the necessary preparations, and sent a body of men thither at night on the 16th of June, to throw up works on Bunker's-hill, an high ground lying just within the Isthmus that joins the peninsula to the continent. The party sent on this service, carried on their works with such extraordinary silence, that though the peninsula was surrounded with ships of war, they were not heard during the night. So great also was their dispatch, that by break of day they had a small but strong redoubt, considerable entrenchments, and a breast work in some parts cannon proof, nearly compleated. The works were first perceived on board the *Lively* man of war, and her guns gave the first intelligence to General Gage, and the troops in Boston.

As soon as the discovery was made, a continual and heavy fire was kept upon the works from the ships of war lying in the road, and from the top of Cop's hill in Boston; notwithstanding which, it is said, the

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Americans were not intimidated, but continued their operations with great firmness.

About noon, General Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked under the command of Major General Howe, and Brigadier General Pigot, to drive the Provincials from their works. The detachment consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proper train of artillery, who landed without opposition under the cannon of the men of war. The two Generals found the enemy so strongly posted and so numerous, that they found it necessary to send for a reinforcement before the attack was commenced. Accordingly, they were reinforced by some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, the 47th regiment, and the first battalion of marines, amounting in the whole, according to General Gage's account, to more than 2000 men.

The attack was begun by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced very slowly to meet the enemy, and halted several times to give the artillery an opportunity of ruining the works, and throwing the Provincials into confusion. As the British troops were greatly outnumbered by their enemies, they found a great deal of difficulty in accomplishing their purpose. The Provincials threw some men into the houses of Charlestown, which covered their right flank. By this means, General Pigot, who commanded the left wing of the British army, was engaged at once with the lines, and with the men in the houses. In this conflict, the town was set on fire, whether by the carcasses thrown from the ships, or by the troops, is uncertain; and as the fire broke out in several places, and no means were, or could be used for extinguishing it, the whole town was burnt to the ground. The Provincials behaved with great resolution. They did not return a shot until the King's forces had almost approached the works, when a most dreadful fire took place, by which a great number of the

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bravest British soldiers and officers fell. At this time, our troops were thrown into some disorder, and General Howe, for a few seconds, is said to have been left almost alone. It is also said, [that in this critical moment, General Clinton, who arrived from Boston during the engagement, by a happy manœuvre, rallied the troops almost instantaneously, and brought them again to the charge. However that be, it is certain, that the British troops now forced the American entrenchments, and the Provincials retreated over Charlestown neck.

The loss on the side of the British amounted to 1054 killed, wounded and missing; the Provincials rated theirs only at 450, but General Gage's account said that it must have been greatly more; and that during the engagement, they were seen to carry off their dead and bury them; a circumstance which cannot but be reckoned very extraordinary.

After this victory, the troops kept possession of Bunker's-hill, which they fortified, so that the force at Boston was now divided into two parts. This, in some sense, was an advantage, as it enlarged their quarters; they having before been much incommoded for want of room, and bad provisions; and the number of their sick at this time was said to amount to 1600.—The Provincials, however, immediately threw up works on another hill opposite to that whereon the engagement happened, so that the troops were as closely invested in that peninsula as they had been in Boston. They did not, however, venture to make any attack, but contented themselves with throwing bombs and shells at a distance, which produced very little effect farther than accustoming their men to this kind of service.

In the month of July, Washington and Lee, who had been appointed Generals by the Congress, arrived at the camp before Boston; and the blockade was continued throughout the year with very few interesting circumstances.

It is not to be supposed, that the skirmish at Lexington would raise a flame in the colony of Massachusetts's

set's-bay alone. The supposed advantages gained by the militia in that skirmish, elated the Americans to such a degree, that they imagined themselves fully able to cope with all the force Britain could muster against them. The cruelties charged upon the British troops, however unjustly, also produced a great effect, and prodigiously increased the commotions in the other colonies. In some places, the magazines were seized, and in New Jersey the treasury. At the same time, without waiting for any concert or advice, a stop was almost every where put to the exportation of provisions; and in some places, all exportation was stopped till the opinion of the general Congress should be known. Lord North's conciliatory plan was utterly rejected by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, nor was it received any where.

When the Congress met on May 10. at Philadelphia, it was resolved to raise an army, and establish a paper currency for its payment; the *United Colonies*, by which name the Americans now distinguished themselves, being security for the realizing this currency. They also strictly prohibited the supplying of the British fisheries with any kind of provision; and to render this order the more effectual, they stopped all exportation to those colonies, islands, and places which still retained their obedience. This measure exceedingly distressed the people of Newfoundland, and all those concerned in the fisheries; insomuch, that to prevent an absolute famine, several ships were under a necessity of returning light from that station to carry out provisions from that place to Ireland.

The city and province of New York, notwithstanding their former moderation, on receiving an account of the skirmish at Lexington, seemed to receive a double portion of the spirit of the other colonies. A very numerous association was formed, and a provincial Congress elected. But as some regiments from Ireland were expected speedily to arrive there, and the place itself was open by sea, its situation was become very critical. In these circumstances, a body of Con-

necticut men arrived in the neighbourhood of New-York avowedly for its protection, and probably also to support the present disposition of the inhabitants. Their strength, however, was not sufficient to afford an effectual protection, nor, had it been greater, would it have availed against an attack by sea. The city accordingly applied, through its delegates, to the continental Congress for instructions how to act on the arrival of the troops. The Congress advised them for the present, to act defensively with regard to the troops, as far as it could be done consistent with their own security;—to suffer them to occupy their barracks as long as they behaved peaceably and quietly; but not to suffer them to erect any fortification, or in any manner to cut off the communications between the city and country; and if they attempted hostilities, that they should defend themselves, and repel force by force. They also recommended to them to provide for the worst that might happen, by securing places of retreat for the women and children, by removing the arms and ammunition from the magazines; and by keeping a sufficient number of men embodied for the protection of the inhabitants in general. The city was thus almost left a desert, and was by its own inhabitants devoted to the flames; but happily for New-York, the troops happened to be more wanted at Boston, and were accordingly sent thither.

The colony of Georgia now also acceded to the general alliance. A provincial Congress having assembled in the month of July, they speedily agreed to all the resolutions of the two general Congresses, and sent five deputies to attend the present. They at once entered into all the measures of the other colonies, and adopted similar ones. They declared, that though their province was not included in any of the oppressive acts lately passed against America, they considered that rather as an insult than a favour, as being done with a view to divide them from their American brethren; and from this accession to the

the confederacy, the Americans now assumed the title of the "Thirteen United Colonies."

But the most remarkable expedition undertaken this year by the Provincials, was set on foot by some private persons belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Massachuset's, and New-York. *This was the surprize of Ticonderago, Crown-point, and other fortresses situated on the great lakes, and commanding the passes between the British colonies and Canada. Some of the first, who formed this design, and had set out with the greatest privacy, in its execution, met by the way with others, who, without any previous concert, were embarked in the same project. These adventurers amounted in all to about 240 men, under the command of Colonel Easton, and Colonel Ethan Allan. They surprised the forts of Crown Point and Ticonderago without the loss of a man; and found in the forts a considerable quantity of artillery, amounting to 200 pieces of cannon, besides some mortars, howitzers, and quantities of various stores which to them were highly valuable: they also took two vessels which gave them the command of Lake Champlain. Flushed with this success, the Congress attempted the conquest of Canada itself. The Generals Montgomery and Schuyler, with two regiments of New-York militia, a body of New-England men, and some others, amounting in all to near 3000 men, were appointed for this service. A number of batteaux or flat boats, were built at Ticonderago and Crown Point, to convey the forces along lake Champlain to the river Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada, and is composed of the surplus waters of the lakes which it discharges into the river St Lawrence, and would afford an easy communication between both, were it not for some rapids that obstruct the navigation. But before Montgomery's forces were half arrived, he received intelligence, that a schooner of considerable force, with some other armed vessels, which lay at the fort of St John's on Sorel river, were preparing to enter the lake, and thereby effectually

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tually obstruct his passage. In the latter end of August, therefore, he proceeded with what force he had to the Isle Aux Noix, which lies in the entrance of the river, and took the necessary measures to prevent these vessels from entering the lake. Schuyler, who at that time commanded in chief, having also arrived from Albany, they published a declaration to encourage the Canadians to join them, and pushed on to the fort of St John's. The fire from this fort, as well as the strong appearances of force and resistance which they observed, occasioned their landing at a considerable distance in a country covered with thick woods, deep swamps, and intersected with creeks and waters. In this situation, they were attacked by a considerable body of Indians, so that they were obliged to return to the island next day, and to defer their operations until the arrival of the artillery and reinforcements which they expected.

Schuyler, upon this, returned to Albany, to conclude a treaty he had for some time been negotiating with the Indians, and found himself afterwards so much occupied by business, or distressed in his health, that the whole weight of the management of affairs in Canada fell upon General Montgomery, a man said to be eminently qualified for any kind of military service. His first measure was to detach those Indians from General Carleton who had entered into his service; and being strengthened by the arrival of his reinforcements and artillery, he resolved to lay siege to Fort St John. This was garrisoned by the greater part of the 7th and 26th regiments, being nearly all the regular troops then in Canada; and was well provided with stores, ammunition and artillery. The Provincial parties were spread over the adjacent country, and were every where received by the Canadians with the greatest kindness. The latter not only joined them in considerable numbers, but gave them every possible assistance both in carrying on the siege, removing the artillery, or supplying them with provisions and necessaries. In the mean time, Ethan Allan, who acted only as a mere adventurer,

adventurer, without any commission from the Congress, thought to raise and distinguish himself, by surprizing the town of Montreal. This rash enterprise he undertook at the head of a small party of English Provincials and Canadians, without the knowledge of the Commander in Chief, or asking the assistance of other detached parties, which he might have easily obtained. The event was such as his rashness deserved. He was met by the militia, under the command of English officers, and some few regulars, who were in the place. By them he was defeated and taken prisoner, with 40 of his men, the rest escaping into the woods. Allan, with his fellow-prisoners, were, by General Carleton's order, loaded with irons, and sent, in that condition, on board a man of war to England, from whence, however, they were soon after remanded back to America.

In the mean time, General Montgomery made all the necessary provisions for reducing fort St John. Being greatly in want of ammunition, he attacked and took a small fort, called *Chamblé*, lying deeper in the country than St John's. Here he found above 120 barrels of gunpowder, with other military stores, which greatly facilitated the siege of St John's. The garrison at this place consisted of between six and seven hundred men, of whom 500 were regulars and the rest Canadian volunteers. They endured the hardships of a very long siege, augmented by a scarcity of provisions, with great constancy, and resolution. General Carleton, in the mean time, used his utmost endeavours for its relief. Attempts had been made for some time by Colonel M'Lean, for raising a Scotch regiment, under the name of Royal Highland Emigrants, to be composed of natives of that country who had lately arrived in America, and who, in consequence of the troubles, had not obtained settlements. With these, and some Canadians, to the amount of a few hundred men, the Colonel was posted near the junction of the Sorel with the river
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St Lawrence. General Carleton was at Montreal, where, with the utmost difficulty, he had got together about a thousand men, composed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and some English officers and volunteers. With these, he intended to have joined M'Lean, and then marched directly to the relief of St John's. But on his attempting to pass over from the island to Montreal, he was attacked at Longueuil by a party of the Provincials, who easily defeated him, and ruined the whole design. Another party had driven M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians, having received advice of the Governor's defeat, immediately abandoned him, so that he was forced to make the best of his way to Quebec with the Emigrants.

The fort of St John's was now soon obliged to surrender, and the garrison were made prisoners of war, and sent to Ticonderago. The Provincials found a considerable quantity of artillery and useful stores in the place.—On the retreat of M'Lean, the party by whom he was defeated, immediately erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the river St Lawrence, in order to prevent the escape down the latter of a number of armed vessels which General Carleton had at Montreal; for the same purpose, they also constructed armed rafts and floating batteries. By these measures, the passage of General Carleton's armament to Quebec was effectually prevented. They were not only foiled in several attempts, but pursued, and driven from their anchors by the Provincials. Soon after, Montgomery himself arrived at Montreal, which was forced to submit, their being no forces there capable of defending it.

This happened on the 13th of Nov. 1775; and nothing could now give the least hope of preserving the smallest part of Canada but the lateness of the season. There remained but a handful of troops in the province; and the taking of General Carleton, which seemed almost certain, would infallibly deter-

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mine its fate. The Governor, however, found means to make his escape in a dark night in a boat, with muffled paddles; and having passed the enemies guards and batteries, arrived safely at Quebec. The whole of the naval force, consisting of eleven armed vessels, together with all the officers, and several soldiers, who had taken refuge on board, when General Montgomery approached, now became prisoners of war.

In the mean time, another expedition was undertaken against Quebec from the New-England side, by a route which had hitherto been untried and deemed impracticable. This expedition was undertaken by Colonel Arnold, who, about the middle of September, marched from the camp near Boston, at the head of 1100 men to Newbury-port at the mouth of the river Merrimack, where vessels were in readiness to convey them by sea to the mouth of the river Kennebec in New-Hampshire; a voyage of about 40 leagues. On the 22d of the same month, they embarked their stores and troops in 200 batteaux at Gardiner's town on the Kennebeck, and proceeded with great difficulty up that river; their batteaux being frequently filled with water and overset; in consequence of which, part of their arms, ammunition and provisions, were sometimes lost. Their passage by land also was attended with prodigious difficulties. They had to encounter thick woods, deep swamps, steep mountains and precipices, and were sometimes obliged to cut their way through the thickets for several miles together. From all these impediments, their progress was very slow, being in general only from four or five to nine or ten miles a day. The constant fatigue and labour caused many of their men to fall sick; and provisions grew at length so scarce, that some of the men eat their dogs, and whatever else of any kind could be converted into food.

When they arrived at the head of the Kennebeck, they sent back their sick, and one of the Colonels took that opportunity of returning with his division, under pretence of the scarcity of provisions, without the

the consent or knowledge of the commander in chief, who had marched forwards. By this desertion, and the return of the sick, Arnold's detachment was very considerably weakened. They proceeded, however, with their usual constancy; and surmounting all difficulties, on Nov. 3. they came to a house, which was the first they had seen for 31 days; having spent all that time in traversing a hideous wilderness, without meeting with any thing human.

Here they were received with the utmost kindness by the Canadians; and Arnold immediately published an address to the people, signed by General Washington, of the same nature with that which had before been issued by Schuyler and Montgomery. The city of Quebec was at this time in a state of great weakness, as well as in great internal discontent and disorder, being divided into two parties, one of which sided with the British Legislature, the other with the Americans. Nor does it appear that any great dependence could then be placed on the French inhabitants for the defence of the city. Many of them were wavering, and some worse; and as to other matters, there were no troops of any sort in the place, till M'Lean's handful of new raised Emigrants arrived from the Sorel. Some marines, which Carleton had sent for to Boston, were refused by a naval council of war, from the lateness of the season, and the danger of the navigation. The militia, however, had been lately embodied by the Lieutenant-Governor.

Such was the situation of Quebec, when Arnold and his party appeared at Point Levi, opposite to the town, on Nov. 9. The river was fortunately between them and the town, and the boats secured; otherwise, it is highly probable, that they would have become masters of it in the first surprise and confusion. They were indeed supplied with vessels in a few days by the Canadians; and they passed in a dark night, notwithstanding the vigilance of the armed vessels in the river. The critical moment was now past. The inhabitants united in their common defence. Two flags

Flags were sent to summon them to surrender, but they were fired at, and no message admitted.

General Montgomery, in the mean time, did not fail to invest the town as soon as he arrived; but Governor Carleton took such measures for its defence, that all his endeavours proved abortive. His first step was to oblige all those to quit the place who refused to take arms in its defence. The garrison, including all orders who did duty, consisted of about 1500 men; a number, even supposing them to have been the best troops imaginable, extremely unequal to the defence of such extensive works, had not an equal weakness prevailed on the side of the besiegers.

On Dec. 5. Montgomery sent a letter to the Governor, magnifying his own strength, and setting forth the weakness of the garrison, shewing the impossibility of relief, and recommending an immediate surrender. This flag was fired at as well as the rest; but Montgomery found other means to convey a letter to the same purpose into the town, and get it delivered to the Governor; which, however, had no effect.

In a few days, a six gun battery was opened against the town; but the cannon were too small to produce any considerable effect. In the mean time, the snow lay so deep on the ground, and the climate was so excessively severe, that the American General perceived there was an absolute impossibility of continuing the siege for any length of time, and that there was a necessity for doing something decisive immediately. For this reason, he determined to give an assault without loss of time, though his troops were scarce superior in number to the garrison, and very little, if any thing, better disciplined. However, depending on the good fortune which had hitherto attended him, and also on the disposition of the garrison itself, he resolved to attempt the place by escalade.

Whilst he was making the preparations for this purpose, it is said that the garrison received intelligence of his designs by some deserters; and that he perceived

perceived they knew not only his general design, but the particular mode by which he intended to put it in execution. This rendered a total change of his dispositions necessary, and it is possible that this might somewhat influence the succeeding events. On the last day of December 1775, and under cover of a violent snow storm, he began the assault. He divided his army into four parties; two of which carried on false attacks against the upper town, whilst himself and Arnold carried on two real ones against opposite parts of the lower town. About five o'clock Montgomery himself advanced at the head of the New-York troops, against the lower town; but from some difficulties which intervened, the signal for engaging had been given, and the garrison alarmed before he could reach the place. He, however, pressed on in a narrow defile with a precipice on one hand, and a hanging rock over him on the other: He seized and passed the first barrier; but the second being much stronger, and defended by cannon loaded with grape-shot, an end was at once put to his hopes and life. Montgomery himself, his aid-de-camp, some other officers, and most of those who were near him, were killed. After his death, the command devolved on a Mr Campbell, who immediately retired, without making any farther attempt.

Arnold's party, in the mean time, ignorant of Montgomery's misfortune, attacked another part of the town with great vigour; but their commander was likewise disabled, having his leg shattered, so that he was carried off to the camp. Notwithstanding this, however, the attack was carried on by his officers; till the garrison having recovered from their surprize, and having nothing to fear from any other quarter, cut off the retreat of the whole party, so that they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. In this attack, the Americans owned they had lost upwards of 800 men.

After this disaster, the besiegers immediately quit-
ted their camp, and retired about three miles from
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the city. Here they fortified themselves in the best manner they were able; being apprehensive of a pursuit from the garrison. The governor, however, not thinking them fit for such a service, contented himself with keeping on the defensive, as well knowing that he would soon be relieved by powerful succours from England.—But though the provincials were now no longer in a capacity to storm the town, they continued for some time to be very formidable. The siege was converted into a blockade, and Arnold found means effectually to cut off the means of obtaining supplies either of provisions or any other necessaries.

During the course of this year, the flame of war had spread through all the northern colonies. In Virginia a long altercation took place between the people and their Governor, Lord Dunmore, which at last terminated in acts of open hostility, and a ruinous prædatory war. On the 8th of June, his Lordship retired on board the Fowey man of war, where his family had been sent before. This removal occasioned many messages between him and the House of Burgesses, who were then sitting to deliberate on Lord North's conciliatory proposal. Lord Dunmore resolutely persisted in his design of remaining on board, notwithstanding of his presence being required in the assembly. At last, the business of the session being finished, he was finally desired to come on shore, and give his assent to such bills as he approved; but he still refused to trust himself among them in the capital; however, he was willing to meet them for that purpose at his own house, or on board the man of war, if they thought proper to wait on him. On receiving this message, the Burgesses immediately resolved, that it was a high breach of privilege; and that the Governor's conduct gave them reason to think, that he meditated some hostile designs against the colony.

The assembly now broke up, still professing their loyalty to the King; but the British Government

was put an end to, and an assembly of delegates supplied the place of the House of Burgesses. The new assembly began immediately to prepare for war, as did also the Governor, who still imagined himself able, by means of the armed vessels, to retain at least part of the country under his subjection. The first hostilities on his part were produced by necessity ; for as the Virginians refused to supply him with provisions, he was obliged to take them by force. On the 25th of October, however, he made an attempt to burn a port-town in an important situation named Hampton. But in this he was disappointed, and repulsed with the loss of a tender which was taken, and some men killed.

On November 7. his Lordship issued a proclamation by which martial law was established in the country, and all the indented servants, negroes, &c. belonging to rebels, were declared free, and invited to join his Majesty's forces.—In consequence of this proclamation, the Governor was soon joined by some hundreds both of blacks and whites ; many others also abjured the acts of the Congress ; and his Lordship hoped that it might be in his power to subdue one part of the province by means of the other, without any foreign assistance.

For this purpose, he took possession of a post called the Great Bridge, which lay at some distance from the town of Norfolk, and was a pass of great consequence ; a large party of rebels had formed themselves under the command of Colonel Woodford, with a design to oppose his Lordship ; but he constructed a fort on the Norfolk side of the bridge, which he put into such a posture of defence, that they did not think proper to attack him.

At this time, the whole force under the command of Lord Dunmore did not exceed 200 regulars, the rest being a mixture of blacks and whites, upon whom no dependence could be placed. The rebels likewise fortified themselves ; and Lord Dunmore rashly formed the resolution of surprizing them in their intrenchments,

ments, tho' he knew their numbers were greatly superior to his own. The attack was made on the 9th of December. Captain Fordyce with his company of grenadiers, amounting to about 60 men, led on the rest; but they were all either killed, taken, or wounded. The fire from the fort allowed the rest an opportunity of retiring without being pursued; but the above mentioned disaster obliged his Lordship to relinquish his post at Great-Bridge, and again retire on ship-board; and the number of his vessels being considerably increased by those he found in the port of Norfolk, he formed a fleet considerable in regard to the number of vessels, and likewise of the people who were on board, by reason that many had taken refuge on board these vessels; yet it was absolutely without force, and even without hands proper for navigation. The rebels took possession of Norfolk, and the fleet retired to a greater distance. The people in the fleet, however, being cut off from every kind of succour from the shore, soon began to be distressed for want of provisions. This occasioned constant bickering between the armed ships and boats, and the American troops stationed along the shore, particularly at Norfolk. At length, upon the arrival of the Liverpool man of war from England, a flag was sent on shore to put the question, Whether they would supply his Majesty's ships with provisions or not? and being answered in the negative, and the ships in the harbour being continually annoyed by the fire of the rebels from that part of the town which lay next the water, it was determined to dislodge them by destroying it. The inhabitants accordingly were desired to remove from the danger; and on the first day of the new year, the town was destroyed and burnt by the cannon of the men of war.

Nor were the Governors of the southern colonies in a much better situation than Lord Dunmore. The government of South Carolina was lodged in a Council of Safety, consisting of 13 persons, with the occasional assistance of a Committee of 99. As they

had intelligence that an armament was preparing in England, which was particularly intended against Charles-Town, no means were left untried for its defence, in disciplining the forces, procuring arms and gunpowder, and particularly in fortifying and securing Charles-Town. Similar measures were pursued in North Carolina. The Provincial Congress, and Committees were in a state of most violent war with the Governor. Upon a number of charges, particularly of fomenting a civil war, and exciting an insurrection among the negroes, he was declared an enemy to America in general, and to that province in particular; and all persons were forbid to hold communication with him. As he expected by means of the back settlers, as well as of the Scots Emigrants, to be able to raise a considerable force, he took pains to fortify his palace at Newbern, that it might answer the double purpose of a garrison and magazine. But before this could be effected, the moving of some cannon excited such a commotion among the people, that he found it necessary to abandon the palace, and retire on board a sloop of war in Cape Fear river. On this occasion, the people discovered powder, shot, and other military stores and implements which had been buried in the palace garden and yard. This served to inflame them exceedingly; every man considering it as if it had been a plot against himself. In other respects, the province had followed the example of their neighbours in South Carolina, by establishing a Council and Committees of Safety, with other substitutes for a regular and permanent government. They also pursued the same methods of providing for defence, of raising, arming, and supporting forces, and of training the militia.

In the province of Massachuset's-bay, things went even worse, if possible, than in the South. On the 13th of October, the town of Falmouth shared the fate of Norfolk in Virginia. Some particular violence or misbehaviour, relative to the loading of a mast ship, drew the indignation of the Admiral upon
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this place, and occasioned an order for its destruction. The officer who commanded the ships upon this occasion, gave two hours previous notice to the inhabitants to provide for their safety; and the time was further enlarged till next morning, under the pretence of a negociation for delivering up their artillery and small arms, on condition of saving the town. This, however, they at last refused to perform; but had made use of the interval for the removal of their effects. About nine in the morning, a cannonade was begun, and continued with little intermission through the day. The principal part of the town was destroyed; but when the sailors landed, to complete the destruction, they were repulsed.

On the 13th of November, the assembly of Massachusetts-bay passed an act for granting Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and the establishment of Courts of Admiralty for the trial and condemnation of British ships. Still, however, the people professed an attachment to Great Britain; for though they took up arms against the government, it was still with a view to the redress of grievances; and no declaration of Independency was issued this year.

It would be tedious to recount the disputes which now ensued in Parliament on the subject of American affairs. It is sufficient to take notice, that all opposition was borne down, and coercive measures determined on. Twenty-five thousand men were destined for America, and the seamen were increased to 28,000; a bill was passed, forbidding all intercourse with the rebellious colonies; and though the Congress sent a petition by Mr Penn, governor of Pennsylvania, no notice was taken of it; and he was informed that no answer would be given to it. This gentleman, in a long examination before the Lords, discovered many particulars concerning the strength and determined resolution of the Americans, which the Ministry seem to have disbelieved, or thought to be exaggerated; as no regard was ever paid to them. And though no proof had been brought of the delin-

quency of Georgia, at least in an equal degree with the rest of the colonies, this colony was included among the rest; and all ships belonging to the Thirteen Colonies were declared to be lawful prizes.

The first remarkable transaction of the year 1776, was the evacuation of the town of Boston. The army there had been exceedingly distressed through the winter, notwithstanding Britain had put herself to an immense charge in order to supply them with provisions of all kinds. No fewer than 14,000 live sheep had been shipped for that place, together with a vast number of oxen, hogs, and vegetables of all kinds, preserved after the best methods. But either thro' accident or negligence, the sending away of the vessels which carried these was delayed till the season for making such voyages was almost spent. The consequence of this was, that the animals on board, especially the sheep, died in great numbers; the vegetables putrified; and though the ships had all reached the port in safety, the troops could not have reaped the benefit from them that was originally intended. Several of them, however were taken, even in the harbour, by the Americans. Among these were the coal-ships; and the loss of them was particularly felt, as firing could not be procured in that place, and the climate rendered the article indispensable. This want was however supplied in some measure by pulling down houses and burning the wood of them. In the beginning of March, a battery was opened against the town by General Washington, from whence a severe canonade was carried on, and soon after a bomb battery was erected, by which means the situation of the British army was rendered very critical. No other method remained, therefore, but either to dislodge the enemy, or abandon the town. General Howe proposed attempting the former, but was prevented the first time by a storm, and the next day it was observed that new works had been thrown up which were so strong, that it was in vain to attempt forcing them. The town was therefore evacuated, without
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any molestation from the enemy, and 1500 of the inhabitants embarked along with the royal army. But before he departed, General Howe thought proper to blow up the fortifications of Castle William, lest the enemy should make themselves masters of it. It was above a week before the fleet could get entirely clear of Boston harbour and road; but their passage to Halifax proved much shorter and easier than they could have expected, and here they made themselves some amends for the miseries they had suffered at Boston. The very day that General Washington took possession of Boston, being March 17. he sent off some troops for New-York, being apprehensive of an attempt upon that place by General Howe; but the royal army, at that time, were not in any condition to make such attempts; their numbers not exceeding 9000 healthy men, and these were by no means sufficiently provided with military stores. The Americans, in the mean time, confiscated the goods and estates of those who had accompanied General Howe to Halifax, and of such others as were proved to be favourers of the Royal Cause.

During these transactions, the blockade of Quebec was carried on by General Arnold, though under great difficulties. He received some supplies indeed, but such as were by no means adequate to his necessities. The troops sent him suffered exceedingly in their march, but underwent their hardships with great fortitude. General Carleton, however, used every endeavour to prevent a surprize, and to resist their force. In this he succeeded, and kept possession of the town till May 6. when the arrival of some ships of war from England put an end to the siege. A small detachment of land forces and marines being landed with the utmost expedition, General Carleton marched out at the head of them, and the garrison, in order to attack the camp of the rebels. Here he found every thing in the utmost confusion. They had not even covered themselves with an intrenchment; and having begun a retreat on the first appear-

appearance of the ships, they fled with the utmost precipitation, abandoning their artillery, military stores, scaling ladders, &c. The King's troops, however, were in no condition to pursue. Some of the smaller ships, however, made their way up the river with such expedition and success, that they took some of the ships belonging to the enemy, and retook the Gaspee sloop of war, which had been seized upon in the beginning of the preceding winter.

Thus ended the American expedition against the province of Quebec. General Carleton shewed himself worthy of his success, by a very humane proclamation, issued immediately after. Understanding that a number of the sick and wounded provincials lay scattered about, and hid in the neighbouring woods and villages, where they were in the greatest danger of perishing; he commanded the proper officers to find out those unhappy persons, and to afford them all necessary relief and assistance at the public expence: and, in the mean time, to prevent obstinacy or apprehension from marring its effect, he assured them, that, as soon as they were recovered, they should have liberty to return home.

Towards the latter end of May, General Carleton received considerable reinforcements from England, so that his force amounted to 13,000 men. The Provincials continued their retreat till they arrived at the river Sorel, where they joined some of those reinforcements that had not been able to proceed farther in their march towards them. Though the spirits of the soldiers were greatly sunk by their late bad successes, and they were also distressed by the small-pox breaking out among them, the enterprising genius of their leaders still continued. They formed a scheme for surprising the King's forces at the Three Rivers, a place about half way between Quebec and Montreal. This was attempted by General Thomson, but without success. He was taken, on the 8th of June, with the loss of 200 of their men. The rest fled with
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the utmost precipitation. They dismounted the batteries they had raised at Sorel, and carried off their artillery and stores. Here a part of the British forces were landed under General Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorel to St John's, while the remainder of the fleet and army sailed up the river to Longueuil, the place of passage from the island of Montreal, to Prairie on the continent. Here they discovered that the rebels had abandoned the city and island of Montreal on the preceding evening. The rest of the army was immediately landed on the continent, and marching by La Prairie, crossed the peninsula formed by the St Lawrence and the Sorel, in order to join General Burgoyne at St John's, where they expected that the rebels would have made some resistance. Burgoyne arrived at St John's on the evening of June 18. where he found the buildings in flames, and almost every thing destroyed that could not be carried off. The same thing was done at Chamblee; and such vessels were burned as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, where they embarked immediately for Crown Point.

Thus an end was put to the war in Canada; but as the Americans were masters of the Lake Champlain, it was impossible for the British forces to proceed southward, until such a number of vessels were constructed, or otherwise obtained, as would afford a superiority, and enable them to cross that Lake with safety. This difficulty, however, was removed by the activity of those concerned in the expedition. The task indeed was very arduous. A fleet of above 30 fighting vessels was to be constructed, in a manner without materials. After this difficulty was removed, they were to be transported over land, and dragged up the rapids of Therese and St John's, together with 30 long boats, a number of flat boats of considerable burden, a gondola weighing 30 tons, with above 400 battoes. In this work, both soldiers and sailors were employed, and the peasants and farmers of Canada were

were taken from their ploughs, and compelled to bear a share in the work.

This equipment was completed in about three months, but the nature of the service required, if possible, greater dispatch than even that by which the armament had been constructed. The winter was fast approaching, two great lakes to be crossed, the unknown force of the enemy on each to be subdued, and the strong posts of Crown Point and Ticonderago defended and supported by an army, to be attacked sword in hand. To add to these impediments, the communication between the lakes Champlain and George, did not admit the passage of those vessels of force, which, after being successful on the one, might be equally wanted on the other. And, supposing all those difficulties overcome, and Lake George passed, there still remained a long and dangerous march through intricate forests, extensive morasses, and an uncleared country before they could reach Albany, which was the first place that could afford them rest and accommodation.

The scheme was prosecuted with the most unremitting ardour; but it was not till the month of October that the fleet was in a condition to seek the enemy on the Lake Champlain. The force was very considerable, and what a few ages ago would have been reckoned very considerable even on the European seas. The ship *Inflexible*, which may be considered as Admiral, she had been reconstructed at St. John's, from whence she sailed in 28 days after laying her keel, and mounted 18 twelve pounders. One schooner mounted 14, and another 12, six pounders. A flat bottomed radeau carried six 24, and six 12 pounders, besides howitzers; and a gondola, seven nine pounders. Twenty smaller vessels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried brass field-pieces from 9 to 24 pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Some long boats were furnished in the same manner. About an equal number of large boats acted as tenders. These were all intended

intended for battle, and besides these, there were a vast number destined for transporting the army with its stores, provisions, artillery, and baggage.

The armament was conducted by Captain Pringle, and the fleet navigated by above 700 prime seamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the transports, who boldly and freely partook with the rest in the dangers of the expedition.

The enemy's force was by no means equal either with respect to the goodness of the vessels, the number of guns, furniture of war, or weight of metal. Sensible, though they were of the necessity of preserving the dominion of the Lakes, and had the advantage of long possession, they still laboured under many essential, and some irremediable defects. They wanted timber, artillery, ship-builders, and all the materials necessary for such an equipment. Carpenters, and all others concerned in the business of ship-ping, were fully engaged at the sea-ports, in the construction and fitting out of privateers, whilst the remoteness and difficulty of communication rendered the supply of bulky materials extremely tedious. When we consider the difficulties, however, which the Americans laboured under, we cannot deny their having overcome in part at least, these difficulties with an assiduity and spirit highly praise-worthy. Their fleet amounted to 15 vessels of different kinds, consisting of two schooners, one sloop, one cutter, three gallies, and eight gondolas: The principal schooner mounted 12 six and four pounders; and the whole fleet was commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to support on the watry element, that renown which he had before acquired on land.

On the 11th of October, General Carleton proceeded up the lake, and discovered the American fleet drawn up with great judgement. It was very advantageously posted, and formed a strong line to defend the passage between the island of Valicour and the western main. Indeed, they had, at the beginning posted themselves with so much art behind the

the island, that an accident only discovered their situation, without this seasonable discovery the king's ships would have left them behind; an event, which would undoubtedly have been attended with the most serious consequences. A warm action ensued, and was vigorously supported on both sides for some hours; but the wind being unfavourable, so that some vessels of force were hindered from coming up to the enemy, the weight of the action fell upon the schooner Carleton and the gun-boats, which they sustained with the greatest bravery. In this engagement, the best schooner belonging to the enemy was burnt; and a gondola carrying three or four guns sunk. At the approach of night the whole fleet anchored in a line, and as near as possible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat. From this danger, however, they found means to make their escape; and took the opportunity of the darkness of the night to pass the fleet unobserved. Arnold concerted and executed this design with ability; and fortune at first seemed so favourable to his purpose, that the ships were out of sight by the next morning. The chase, being, however, continued all that and the succeeding day, the Americans were at length overtaken, and brought to action a few leagues from Crown Point. Here the combat was renewed with great fury, and continued for two hours, during which time those vessels that were most a-head pushed on with the utmost speed, and passing Crown Point escaped to Ticonderago; but two galleys and five gondolas which remained with Arnold, made a desperate resistance. During this action, the Washington galley, having Waterburg, a brigadier general, and the second in command, on board, struck and was taken. Arnold at length finding it impossible to resist the force and skill of his adversaries, run the vessels ashore, and blew them up in spite of the utmost efforts of the British to prevent both.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly destroyed; a galley, and three small

small vessels being all that escaped to Ticonderago. On the defeat of the fleet, the Americans set fire to the houses, and destroyed every thing at Crown Point which they could not carry off, after which they retired to their main body at Ticonderago. General Carleton took possession of the ruins, where he was soon joined by the army. As he continued there till towards the end of the month, little doubt can be entertained of his having formed a design to attempt the reduction of that place. It was evident, however, that this post could not be forced in its present situation without a very considerable loss of blood, while the benefit arising from the reduction of it would be comparatively nothing. The season was now far advanced, so that it was vain to think of passing Lake George, and exposing the army to the perils of a winter campaign in such an inhospitable climate. General Carleton therefore re-embarked without making any attempt upon Ticonderago, and returning into Canada, cantoned the troops in the best manner he could.

In the beginning of the year 1776, governor Martin of North Carolina formed a design of reducing that province to obedience. In this he was confirmed by the knowledge he had that a squadron of men of war, under the conduct of Sir Peter Parker, and Lord Cornwallis, were soon to depart from Ireland on an expedition against the southern colonies; and that North Carolina was their first, if not their principal object. He knew also that General Clinton, with a small detachment from Boston, was on his way to meet them at Cape Fear.

To effectuate his purpose, Governor Martin formed a connection with a body of desperate people named *Regulators*. These had lately been considered as rebels against the King's government, and were now equally so against the Provincial establishment. With these and the Highland Emigrants, he hoped to reduce the whole province, even independent of the force expected, especially as North Carolina was reckoned

the weakest colony in America, except Georgia. By the middle of February, the Royal Standard was erected; the command was given to General M'Donald and a considerable army collected, amounting, according to some accounts, to 1500; according to others, to 3000. These, however, were utterly defeated and dispersed twelve days after, by a party of Americans greatly inferior to them in number; and this victory proved a matter of no small exultation to their party.

The expedition against the Carolinas by Sir Peter Parker was attended with very little better success. The fleet sailed from Ireland in the close of the year 1775; but from an unexpected delay in Ireland, and bad weather afterwards, they did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May, where, from various causes, they were detained till the end of the month. Here they found General Clinton, who had already been at New-York, and from thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had seen Lord Dunmore; but finding he could be of no service at either place with his small force, came thither to wait for them.

At this time, the season of the year proved very much against the operations of the troops. The excessive heat rendered them sickly even at Cape Fear, notwithstanding the plenty of refreshments they had procured, and the little labour they had upon their hands. As it was necessary, however, to do something, they resolved to attack Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina. The fleet anchored off Charlestown-bar in the beginning of June. Before they proceeded to action, they were joined by the Experiment man of war; and the naval force then consisted of Sir Peter Parker, the Commodore's ship of 50 guns, the Experiment of the same force, the Active, Solebay, Actæon and Syren frigates, of 28 guns each, the Sphynx of 20, a hired armed ship of 22, a small sloop of war, an armed schooner, and the Thunder bomb ketch.—

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The land forces were commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Brig. General Vaughan:—At the time that General Clinton sailed from Boston, Lee, the American General, set out at the head of a strong detachment from the army before that place, in order to secure New-York from an attempt which it was supposed the former would make on that city. On his arrival in Virginia, Clinton found Lee in the same posture of defence in which he had left him at New York. On the departure of the British for Cape Fear, Lee again traversed the continent with the utmost expedition to secure North Carolina; and when the forces proceeded Southward, Lee, with equal celerity, proceeded to the defence of Charlestown.

The passing of the bar was not effected without much time, difficulty and danger, especially to the two large ships; which, notwithstanding the taking out of their guns, and using every other possible means to lighten them, both touched the ground several times. The first object of our forces, after passing the bar, was the attack of a fort which had been lately erected, though not made altogether complete, upon the south-west point of Sullivan's island. This fort commanded the passage to Charlestown, which lay about six miles farther west; and notwithstanding the lateness of its construction, was, with propriety, considered as the key of that harbour. The troops were landed on Long Island, which lies nearer, and to the eastward of Sullivan's; being separated only by some shoals, and a creek called the *Breach*, which are deemed passable at low water, the ford being represented to our officers as only 18 inches deep in that state. The Carolinians had posted some forces, with a few pieces of cannon, near the north eastern extremity of Sullivan's island, at the distance of near two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the passage of the royal army over the *Breach*. General Lee was encamped with a considerable body of forces on the

continent, at the back, and to the northward of the island, with which he held a communication open by means of a bridge of boats; and could by that means at any time march the whole, or any part of his force, to support that post which was opposed to the passage of the British troops from Long Island. The latter is a naked burning sand, where the troops suffered greatly from their exposure to the intense heat of the sun. Both the fleet and army were greatly distressed through the badness of the water; that which is found upon the sea coasts of Carolina being every where brackish. Nor were they in a much better condition with respect either to the quantity or quality of their provisions.

Though these inconveniences rendered all manner of dispatch necessary, some unavoidable delays occurred, by which the attack of Sullivan's Island was put off till the end of the month; and this interval the enemy most assiduously employed in completing their works. Every thing being at length settled between the Commanders by sea and land, the Thunder-bomb, covered by the armed ship, took her station in the morning of June 28. and began the attack, by throwing shells at the fort as the fleet advanced. About eleven o'clock the Bristol, Experiment, Active and Solebay, brought up directly against the fort, and began a most furious and incessant cannonade. The Sphinx, Aetæon and Syren were ordered to take their station between the end of the island and Charlestown, partly thereby to enfilade the works of the fort, and partly, if possible, to cut off the communication between the island and the continent, which would of course cut off the retreat of the garrison, as well as all succours from the latter, and partly to prevent any attempts that might be made by fire-ships or otherwise, to interrupt the grand attack. This part of the design was rendered unsuccessful by the unskilfulness of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the shoals, called the middle grounds, where they all stuck fast; and though two
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of them were afterwards got off with difficulty and damage, it was then too late, and they were besides in no condition to execute the intended service. The *Actæon* could not be got off; and was therefore burnt to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands.

In the mean time, the fire from the fort was continued slowly and deliberately, and with the greatest effect. The ships suffered prodigiously. The springs of the *Bristol's* cable being cut by the shot, she lay for some time exposed in such a manner to the enemy's fire, that she was most dreadfully raked. It is said the quarter-deck of this ship was at one time cleared of every person, but the Commodore alone; all the rest being either killed, or carried down to have their wounds dressed. The other ships likewise suffered very much, though none were so greatly damaged as the *Bristol*. The American fortifications in the mean time suffered very little; their lowness preserving them in a great measure from the shot of the British ships. They were composed of palm-trees and earth; and the merlons were of an unusual thickness. The guns, however, were at one time so long silenced, that it was thought the fort had been abandoned. This, however, according to the Provincial account, was owing to their having expended all their ammunition; and as soon as a new supply was got from the continent, the fire was renewed, and kept up till between nine and ten at night. Sir Peter Parker then finding all hope of success at an end, drew off his shattered vessels, having 111 men killed and wounded aboard his own vessel, and 79 on board the *Experiment*.

In the northern colonies, however, matters went on more successfully.—The situation of General Howe with his army at Halifax, was by no means agreeable. The country was in no condition to afford them a sufficient supply of provisions or necessaries; nor was the place even capable of providing quarters for the private men, who were obliged to continue on board the ships during the whole of their

stay. Accordingly, the General growing impatient, without waiting for his brother, who was expected with powerful reinforcements, departed with Admiral Shulldham, and the fleet and army from Halifax, about the 10th of June; and near the end of the month arrived at Sandy-Hook, a point of land that stands at the entrance into that confluence of sounds, roads, creeks and bays, which are formed by New-York, Staten, and Long Islands; the continent on either side, with the North and Rareton Rivers. On their passage, they were joined by six transports with Highland troops on board, who had been separated from several of their companions on the voyage, and soon after it appeared, that some of the missing ships, with about 450 soldiers, and several officers, were taken by the American cruizers. The General found every part of the island of New-York strongly fortified, defended by an army, and supplied with a large train of artillery. Tho' the extent of Long-Island did not admit of its being so strongly fortified, or so well guarded, it was, however, in a powerful state of defence. On the end of the island, near New-York, there was an encampment of a considerable force; and several works were thrown up on the most accessible parts of the sea-coast, as well as at the strongest internal passes.—Staten-Island being of less consequence, had not been attended to; and here the General landed without opposition, to the great joy of those inhabitants who had suffered on account of their loyalty; and the troops being cantoned in the villages, received plenty of those refreshments which they so much wanted.

Lord Howe arrived at Halifax about a fortnight after his brother's departure, and from thence came before Staten Island in the beginning of July. His first act was to issue a proclamation of pardon to all who should speedily return to their duty, whatever their deviations from it might hitherto have been; and at the same time, rewards were promised to those who should assist in restoring public tranquillity.

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These papers were immediately sent by General Washington to the Congress, by whom they were published in the news-papers with such comments as they thought proper. Some letters were sent to General Washington; but as they were directed only "to George Washington, Esq;" or "to George Washington, &c. &c. &c." he refused to accept them.

A conference, however, took place between him and Adjutant-general Paterson; but as the latter insisted on the expediency of accepting Lord Howe's proposals, and submitting to the British Legislature, nothing of consequence could happen. Here it is proper to take notice, that some little time before the arrival of the fleet and army at New-York, plots were discovered in that city and in Albany in favour of the Royal Cause. On this account, some few were executed, great numbers were imprisoned; and many, abandoning their habitations through fear, were pursued as outlaws and enemies to their country. The estates of these people, against whom there were any proofs, were seized; and in the mean time, the declaration of Independence and renunciation of allegiance to Britain, was published thro' all the colonies, new forms of government instituted through the whole continent, and these innovations were received with the greatest signs of joy by all ranks and degrees of men.

All the forces being at last arrived from England, except about one half of the Hessians, which were not expected to come speedily, it was resolved to attack Long Island. Accordingly, the necessary measures being taken by the fleet for covering the descent, the army was landed without opposition near Utrecht and Gravesend, on the south-west end of the Island, and not far from the narrows where it approaches closest to Staten Island. General Putnam was at that time with a strong party, encamped at Brooklyn at a few miles distance on the north coast, where his works covered the breadth of a small peninsula, having what is called the East River, which separated him from New-York, on his left; a marsh
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on the right ; with the bay and Governor's Island at his back. The armies were separated by a range of hills covered with wood, which intersect the country from east to west, and are in that part, called the Heights of Guana. The direct road to the enemy lay through a village called Flat-bush, where the hills commenced, and near which was one of the most important passes. To secure this and other passes, General Putnam had detached a considerable part of his army ; but through the negligence of the officers employed in this service, a pass of the greatest consequence was left unguarded, and the whole army passed the hills without the least noise or impediment, and descended by the town of Bedford into the level country which lay between them and Putnam's lines. In the mean time, the Hessians attacked those at Flat-bush ; and they being soon sensible of the danger they were in, being inclosed between the Hessians in front, and the main body who had passed the hills in the manner above mentioned, began their retreat in large bodies, carrying off their artillery, and marching in tolerable order, striving if possible, to regain their camp. In this, however, they were disappointed. They met with a furious attack from the King's troops, and were driven back into the woods ; there they were again attacked by the Hessians, who drove them back upon the main body of the King's army. Thus they were alternately driven backward and forward, and slaughtered for many hours. In these desperate circumstances, some of their regiments forced their way to the lines, and arrived safe at the camp ; others perished in the attempt ; many kept in the woods and escaped ; others perished ; some threw themselves into the marsh already mentioned and were drowned, or perished in the mud : a considerable part, however, made their escape this way to the lines, though they were thinned every moment by the fire of the pursuers.

This was by far the worst disaster which had befallen the Americans. Their loss was represented in the

the Gazette account, as exceeding 3000 men, including about 1000 who were taken prisoners. Almost a whole regiment from Maryland, consisting entirely of young men of the best families in the country, was cut to pieces. The Americans, indeed, never owned that they lost so many men; but it is certain, that this defeat exceedingly broke their spirits, and lost them that confidence in their own prowess, and assurance of victory, which are so essential to the success of military enterprises. The victorious army encamped in the front of Putnam's lines on the 24th, and were preparing to attack them. Nothing, however, now remained, but to preserve the remainder of the army on Long Island by a retreat; and even this was now rendered exceedingly precarious and dangerous. The task however was undertaken and executed by General Washington in a very effectual manner. In the night of the 29th, all the American troops were withdrawn from the camp, and their different works; and, with their baggage, stores, and part of their artillery, were conveyed to the water side, embarked and passed over a long ferry to New-York, with such surprising silence and order that the British army did not perceive the least motion, and were amazed at finding the lines abandoned in the morning, and seeing the last of the rear-guard, (or, as the Americans say, a party which had returned to carry off some stores that had been left behind) in their boats, and out of danger.

Soon after this transaction, General Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner in the late action, was sent upon parole with a message to the Congress. The general purport of this message, was to desire a conference with some of the members of that assembly as private persons; his instructions from government not allowing him to treat with the Congress as an independent legislative body. But this proposal was rejected; and the Congress replied, that being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, they could not, with propriety, send any of
their

their members to confer with him in a private capacity; but that, as they were always desirous of re-establishing peace on reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body, to know whether he had any authority to treat with persons authorised by Congress for that purpose, and to hear such propositions as he should think it reasonable to make. Accordingly Dr Franklin, Mr Adams and Mr Rutledge, were appointed to wait on Lord Howe in Staten Island. The negociation, however, came to nothing; as no proposals were made, excepting such as had in effect been offered already, namely, a promise of indemnity and pardon, upon condition of absolute submission. Proposals of this kind, however, could not be accepted by the Americans, unless they had owned themselves transgressors, which they never yet have done.

All hopes of peace being thus at an end, the Royal Army, now divided from New-York only by the East River, became very impatient to pass that boundary, and make themselves masters of the city. They were posted along the coast wherever they could see or front the enemy, and erected many batteries to answer, if not to silence theirs. A fleet, consisting of more than 300 sail, including transports, covered the face of the waters; while the ships of war threatened destruction to every part of the island, and were continually engaged with one or other of the batteries with which it was surrounded. The small islands between the shores were perpetually contested, until, by dint of a well served artillery, and the superiority of the British troops, they secured such as best suited their purpose. The Americans, now being quite disheartened, abandoned the city to their enemies, and retired to the north part of the island, where they had very strong works, particularly at King's-bridge, where they seemed sufficient to defy the attempts of any force whatever. Their nearest encampment was on the Heights of Harlem, at the distance of about a mile and an half. M'Gowan's-pass, and the strong grounds, called Morris' heights, lay
between

between them and King's-bridge, and were defensible against a very great force. In this situation, frequent skirmishes happened between the two armies; and the Americans seemed at last to recover from their consternation.

In the mean time, some incendiaries, who had probably staid behind for that purpose, resolved to set fire to the city of New-York, in order to render it as little useful to the conquerors as possible. For this purpose, they prepared some combustibles with great art and ingenuity; and taking advantage of dry weather, and a brisk wind, on the 20th of September, set fire to the city about midnight, in several places at the same time. Thus, near a third part of this beautiful city was reduced to ashes; and nothing less than the courage and activity of the troops, as well as the sailors, who were dispatched from all parts, could have saved the remainder. Many of the wretches who were concerned in this business, being detected, were, without any trial, thrown into the flames by the enraged soldiers.

On the 12th of October, General Howe, having resolved to dislodge the enemy from the corner of York-island they still possessed, embarked the greater part of the army in flat-bottomed boats, and other vessels proper for the service, passed successfully through the dangerous navigation, called Hell-Gate, which forms a communication between the East river and the sound, and landed on Frog's-neck, near the town of West Chester, which lies on that part of the continent belonging to New-York on the side of Connecticut. The first object of this expedition was, to cut off the communications between Washington and the eastern colonies; and then, if this measure did not bring him to an engagement, to inclose him on all sides in his fastnesses on the north end of the Island. The King's troops were now masters of the lower road to Connecticut and Boston; but, to gain the upper, it was necessary to advance to the high grounds, called the White plains; a rough, stony, and mountainous

tainous tract, which, however, is only part of the ascent to a country still higher, rougher, and more difficult. On the departure of the army to the higher country, it was deemed necessary to leave the second division of the Hessians, with the Waldeck regiment at New Rochelle, as well to preserve the communications, as to secure the supplies of provisions and necessaries that were to arrive at that port.

General Washington now perceived the danger of his situation. He saw, that, if he continued where he was, he would at last be obliged to commit the whole to the decision of a pitched battle, the event of which he had every reason to fear. He therefore formed his army into a line of small, detached, and entrenched camps, which occupied every height and strong ground from Valentine's-hill, not far from King's bridge on the right, to the White-plains, and the upper road to Connecticut on the left. In this position, they faced the whole line of march of the King's troops at a small distance, the deep river Bronx covering their front, and the north river at some distance in the rear; whilst the open ground to the last afforded a secure passage for their stores and baggage to the upper country. A garrison was left for the protection of fort Washington, the lines of Harlem, and King's bridge.

On the approach of the King's army, the Americans quitted their detached camps along the Bronx, and, joining their left, took a strong ground of encampment before the British on the White-plains. On the 28th, an engagement ensued, in which the Americans, as usual, were defeated. General Washington, however, had no intention of allowing this or any other battle to become decisive, while there was a possibility of avoiding it. He therefore abandoned his camp on the night of November 1. and entrenched himself on the higher grounds. General Howe next day took possession of the American entrenchment; but finding it impossible to force them to an engagement, he determined to make himself

self master of the strong forts named Washington and Lee, which they still possessed on York Island.— It would be tedious to enter into a detail of the operations of the siege. It is sufficient to take notice, that Fort Washington was taken, and the garrison, consisting of 3000 men, made prisoners of war; and Fort Lee was abandoned, the garrison, consisting of 2000 men, very narrowly escaping, after being obliged to leave their artillery, stores, and every thing else behind them. After this, the victorious army over-run both the Jerseys without opposition, the enemy flying every where before them. At length, they extended their winter cantonements from New Brunswick to the Delaware. If there had been any means of passing that river on their first arrival, there is not the least doubt that they would have easily become masters of Philadelphia; but the Americans very prudently either destroyed all the boats, or took them out of the way.

In the mean time, General Clinton, with two Brigades of British, and two of Hessian troops, with a squadron of ships of war, under the command of Sir Peter Parker, made an attempt upon Rhode Island. In this they succeeded beyond their expectation. On the 8th of December, the Americans abandoned the Island, and the British took possession of it, without the loss of a man; at the same time, that they blocked up the provincial fleet under one Hopkins, who had before been attended with considerable success in some predatory attempts on the West India Islands.

Fortune had now declared herself so much an enemy to the American Republic, that it was no wonder to find their armies exceedingly disheartened. The soldiers also, having engaged themselves only for a year, began to return home in great numbers; and very few could be prevailed upon to continue in the service. In short, every thing seemed to conspire towards a dissolution of their state; and the submission of some of the colonies was daily expected

by the British. This expectation indeed seems to have been extremely well founded. The American army in fact did not exceed 2500 or 3000 men, when, at the beginning of the campaign, it had amounted to 25 or 30,000; and the support to be derived from new levies, was both precarious and remote. To add to all their other misfortunes, Gen. Lee was taken prisoner on the 13th of December by Colonel Harcourt, with a small party of horse, as he lay carelessly guarded at a small distance from the main body of his troops. The capture of this General was attended with a circumstance which has since been attended with much distress and inconvenience to individuals on both sides. A cartel, or something of that nature, had been for some time established for the exchange of prisoners between Generals Howe and Washington, which had been carried into execution as far as time and other circumstances would permit. But as Lee was peculiarly obnoxious to government, it has been supposed that General Howe was tied down by his instructions from parting with him upon any account. General Washington, not having at this time any prisoner of equal rank with Lee, proposed to exchange six field officers for him; the number being intended to balance the disparity of rank. If this was not accepted, he insisted that Lee should be treated with all the respect due to his rank. To this it was replied, that Lee was a deserter from his Majesty's service, and consequently could not be considered as a prisoner of war, nor was he entitled to any of the benefits of the cartel; and this reply brought on a fruitless dispute, whether Lee, who had resigned his half-pay at the beginning of the troubles, ought to be considered as a deserter or not.

The consequence of all this, however, was, that Lee was put into close confinement, and the Americans retaliated, by using Colonel Campbell, and some other officers they had in their power, very severely. The Congress, foreseeing the bad consequences that
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might attend the total want of an army, had issued orders, about the middle of September, for the raising of 88 battallions; and that they might in time be able to cope with the King's army, they also enacted, that such as were now raised, should continue in the service during the war. A considerable bounty was allowed them; and, at the conclusion of the war, each soldier was to have 100 acres of land. With all these encouragements, however, the business of recruiting went on but very slowly; nor did the number of troops actually raised, at any time, equal that which was voted.

The dangerous situation of Philadelphia now induced the Congress to retire to Baltimore in Maryland. Internal dissensions also proved detrimental to the American affairs; and for some time prevented Philadelphia from being put into a proper state of defence. The severity of the weather, however, soon rendered it necessary to put the British and auxiliary troops under cover. They were accordingly thrown into great cantonements, forming an extensive chain from Brunswick on the Rariton, to the Delaware; occupying not only the towns and villages which came within that line, but those also on the banks of the Delaware for several miles. In this situation, General Washington formed a design of attacking some of these detached bodies, which, he hoped, would have the effect of making the enemy at least contract their cantonements, and quit the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. For this purpose, he assembled his forces in three divisions, appointing each of them to meet at the Delaware as soon after dark, and with as little noise as possible, on Christmas night. They executed their orders very exactly; and three regiments of Hessians were surprised, and most of them obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. No other part of the scheme, however, succeeded, on account of the ice with which the river was filled, which prevented their boats from passing farther down. The whole number of prisoners taken on this occasion amounted to 918.

This small success, wonderfully raised the spirits of the Americans; especially as the victory was gained over the Hessians, of whom they were most afraid, and to whom they bore the most implacable hatred. On the other hand, it greatly alarmed the British. Lord Cornwallis, who was on the point of sailing to England, found it necessary to return for the defence of the Jerseys; and immediately marched to attack Washington, who was strongly posted at Trenton Creek. Several skirmishes happened in the approach; and at last a canonade continued on both sides for a whole day. The American General, however, had no intention to risque a battle, and therefore decamped in the night time with such secrecy and silence, that his enemies had not the least notion of his departure. On his march, he fell in with three British regiments; two of which, viz. the 17th, commanded by Colonel Mawhood, and the 55th, were totally surrounded, cut off from the rest of the body, and attacked on all sides. The brave Colonel Mawhood, however, with his regiment, cut their way through the enemy; and the 55th made good their retreat to Brunswick. The three regiments suffered severely; their whole loss in prisoners amounting to 200; but the killed and wounded were much fewer.

Though the Americans had many more killed in this action than their enemies, they considered themselves as victors; and by the consequences, it appears that they actually were so: for in a few days, they over-run all the Jerseys, and posted themselves so strongly that they could not be dislodged; while the British army retained only the two posts of Brunswick and Amboy, the one seated a few miles up the Rariton, and the other on a point of land at its mouth; and here they were very much straitened during the winter; being obliged both to continue the most severe and unremitting duty, and harrassed with continual skirmishes.

In the mean time, the Indians, particularly the Creeks and Cherokees, being excited by some British agents,

agents, fell upon the frontiers of the colonies. The former, not finding themselves supported, suddenly stopped short; but the latter, for some time carried desolation and ruin through their neighbourhood, totally destroying the settlements, and murdering all those who came in their way. They were soon checked, however, and made to repent their folly. They were defeated in every action, and pursued by the militia of Virginia and Carolina into their own country. There the Indian towns were demolished, their corn destroyed, and their warriors thinned in repeated engagements; until the whole nation was nearly exterminated, and the wretched survivors were obliged to submit to such terms as the victors thought fit to prescribe.

Such was the state of affairs at the close of the year 1776; from which we may see how little was that year actually effected towards the conquest of America. That the Americans themselves thought so indeed, we have a convincing proof, since, on the 4th of October this year, even when their affairs seemed in the most desperate situation, they entered into a treaty of perpetual compact and union among themselves, and laid down an invariable system of laws for their government, in all public cases, with respect either to peace or war, and to their commerce with other states.

In 1777, nothing happened between Sir William Howe and Washington, except some inconsiderable skirmishes, till the grand expedition against Philadelphia was set on foot. This expedition spread the greatest alarm throughout the continent; and General Washington used his utmost efforts to defend that important place. Notwithstanding the successes of the British army last year, they now found it impossible to attack Philadelphia by the way of the Jerseys. There was, therefore, a necessity for the embarkation of the troops, in order to their reaching the place of their destination. When they had reached the Capes of Delaware, they there received such infor-

mation concerning the measures taken to render the navigation of that river difficult, that they abandoned all thoughts of proceeding that way. It was then resolved to attempt a passage by Chesapeak-bay, to that port of Maryland which lies to the eastward of the bay just now mentioned, and is not very far distant to the southwest of Philadelphia. In this voyage, the winds were so unfavourable, that the fleet did not enter the bay till the middle of August. The wind proving fair afterwards, the troops landed on the 25th of the same month at Elk Ferry; and while one part advanced to the head of Elk, the other continued at the landing place to protect and forward the artillery, stores, &c. General Washington, in the mean time, returned from the Jerseys with an army of 15,000 men, and advanced to the Brandywine creek or river; which, crossing the country about half way to Philadelphia, falls into the Delaware. About Sept. 3. the royal army quitted the head of Elk, and pursued its march to Philadelphia; and in the mean time, the enemy had advanced from the Brandywine, and taken post on Red-clay-creek, from whence they pushed detachments forward to occupy difficult posts in the woods, and to interrupt by continual skirmishes, the line of march. In these skirmishes, the King's troops were almost always victorious; nor does it appear that the Americans made all the use they might have done of the advantages the country afforded.

On the 11th of September, the passage of the fords was disputed, and a kind of general engagement ensued. The Americans were defeated, and were saved from total destruction only by the coming on of the night. Their loss was but small, considering the numbers on both sides. In the Gazette, it was computed at 300 killed, 600 wounded, and near 400 taken prisoners. Another disaster they met with on the 20th of this month: A body of 1500 men, under General Wayne, was surprised by Major General Grey, 300 of them killed, and a great number wounded and taken prisoners.

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These actions decided the fate of Philadelphia ; and Lord Cornwallis took possession of the city on the 26th of September. Lord Howe no sooner received intimation of these advantages, than he conducted the fleet and transports round to the Delaware. The navigation of that river, as we have already observed, was rendered impracticable ; and on both sides, strong forts and batteries were erected. All these, however, were now either taken or abandoned, and the passage up the river at last cleared, so that the conquest of Philadelphia now became complete.

The acquisition of this place, however, was not attended with all the advantages that had been expected, indeed, scarce with any. The American army still kept the field ; nay, on the 4th of October, they attacked the Royal Army itself at Germantown, and though repulsed with loss, they shewed such resolution, that the conquest of America still appeared very distant. In short, all the advantages derived from the campaign of 1777 on the Delaware, amounted to no more than the simple procuring a good winter lodging for the army in the town of Philadelphia. They possessed no more of the country than what they commanded immediately by their arms ; and the Americans had given repeated proofs, that however they might attack, when they thought it for their advantage, they never would be brought to a decisive battle.

The unfortunate issue of the Canada expedition, under the direction of General Burgoyne, must still be fresh in the memory of every one ; and as it would necessarily prove tedious, and even, in some degree unintelligible, to enter into the minute details of military operations related in the Gazette accounts, we shall content ourselves with giving a brief and general account of the design and causes of failure of this enterprise.

The design we have formerly hinted at, namely, that Burgoyne coming down from Canada with his army, was to be joined by General Howe, or by reinforcements

reinforcements from him: after which, the northern colonies being embarrassed with one enemy in the heart of their country, and another on their coasts, could not know which way to turn themselves; and therefore must of course either submit, or be totally destroyed. The plan was certainly well laid; and had it succeeded, in all probability the consequences just now mentioned must have ensued. One cause of its failure, however, certainly was, that General Howe was out of the way, being at Philadelphia when Burgoyne had the greatest occasion for his assistance. The principal reason, however, without doubt, was the nature of the country through which the British army was obliged to march. Armies may be conquered, but woods, marshes and deserts will in the end overcome the strongest army that can be imagined; and to those, not to the American valour, is due the honour of Burgoyne's capture.

The regular force with which General Burgoyne set out, amounted to 7137, of which 3217 were Germans. A number of Canadian auxiliaries also served under him; but how many there were, has never been properly ascertained.—With these, he arrived at Bouquet River on the west-side of Lake Champlain at no great distance to the north of Crown Point. Here he had a conference with the Indian chiefs; and according to their custom, he gave them a war feast. He made a speech to them, calculated as much as possible to mitigate the diabolical ferocity of these wretches. This no doubt had some little weight; but no excuse can possibly be made for civilized people who employ these savages in their wars against one another. The infernal spirit of malice, cruelty, and revenge, with which the American Savages are actuated, and their total want of every principle that can be called good or virtuous in human nature, are well known. In what light then must we view those who pretend to be civilized and of a humane disposition, nay, who pretend to be *Christians*, and yet let loose such a crew of incarnate Devils upon one another.

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But, leaving reflections of this kind to Philosophers or Divines, we must now proceed to give an account of the expedition itself.—The first object was the fortress of Ticonderago. It was strongly fortified; but being entirely commanded by an eminence called Sugar Hill, a consultation was held among the American officers about fortifying this also. This, however, was judged to be improper, as their fortifications were said to be already too extensive for the number of their men. For this reason, they abandoned the fortress with so much precipitation, that they left behind them most of their military stores. Such of their baggage as could be carried off, were embarked on board of 200 batteaux; which also carried a large detachment of their forces. These batteaux sailed up the south river in their way to Skenesborough, while the main army took its route to Castletown, in order to reach the same place.

This precipitate and cowardly flight, proved more ruinous to the Americans than a surrender almost upon any terms could have been. They were closely pursued and overtaken both by sea and land. It is not to be supposed, that those who abandoned strong fortifications on the bare approach of an enemy, would make any great resistance in the field. In fact, they did not. Their batteaux and other vessels were all taken or burnt; and their land forces were utterly defeated and obliged to fly into the woods, where many of them miserably perished.

In the mean time, Colonel Hill was detached with the 9th regiment from Skenesborough towards Fort Anne, in order to intercept the fugitives who fled along the Wood Creek, whilst another part of the army was employed in carrying batteaux over the falls, in order to facilitate their movement to dislodge the enemy from that post. In that expedition, the Colonel was attacked by a party of Americans, consisting, as he supposed, of at least six times the number of his men. But even this vast superiority was not sufficient to give them the victory. After an attack of three hours,

hours, they were repulsed with so great loss, that they set fire to Fort Anne, and fled with the utmost precipitation towards Fort Edward, upon Hudson's river.

General Burgoyne spent some days at Skenesborough, being under a necessity of waiting for the arrival of tents, baggage, and provisions. The utmost diligence was used to clear the roads which had been blocked up by trees, stones, &c. by the enemy, in such a manner, as to be altogether impassable. With their utmost efforts, however, the Royal Army was unable, for some time, to proceed further than at the rate of one mile a day, a thing which in future ages will no doubt be reckoned incredible. The face of the country was also so much broken by creeks and marshes, that they were obliged, in a very short space, to construct no fewer than 40 bridges, one of which was of log-work, over a morass two miles in extent. All these difficulties, however, were surmounted; and the Royal Army reached Hudson's River about the end of July.

Though the Americans were thrown into the utmost consternation by the loss of Ticonderago, and the progress of the Royal Army, no sort of disposition to submit appeared in any quarter. General Arnold was sent to the assistance of the northern army, with a train of artillery, which he received from Washington. On his arrival, he drew the troops back from Saratoga, where they were posted, to Still Water, a central place between that and the mouth of the Mohawk-river, where it falls into the Hudson's. This was designed to oppose the progress of Colonel St Leger, who was advancing against Fort Stanwix, with a considerable body of troops. Arnold's forces increased every day, owing to the terror excited in the minds of the people by the cruelties of the savages. A general indignation indeed took place, and how could it be otherwise, against an army which employed such auxiliaries in a civil contest; thereby endeavouring, as the Americans said, to exterminate those whom they affected to consider,
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and pretended to reclaim as subjects. Thus, the advantages expected from the terror, excited by these savage auxiliaries, were not only counteracted, but the direct contrary ones were produced. The people, instead of submitting, shewed a most determined spirit of resistance. Thus an army was suddenly raised much greater and more formidable than their regular one had been.

In the mean time, General Burgoyne, who was now in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, began to experience those difficulties, which gradually increased, till they became at last unformountable. These difficulties began with a difficulty in procuring provisions. No more than 50 teams of oxen could be procured in all the country, and these were totally inadequate to the purpose of supplying the daily consumption of the army, much less of establishing such a magazine as was necessary for their purposes. Their utmost exertions for this purpose continued for 15 days successively, were able to procure no more than four days provisions in store, and ten batteaux in Hudson's River.

In these distressing circumstances, General Burgoyne determined, if possible, to effect a junction with Colonel St Leger, who had been detached with a considerable body of Indians and Canadians, and some regular troops to besiege Fort Stanwix, lying up the Mohawk river. This, however, was impracticable, unless a supply of provisions could some way or other be obtained, and for this end; it was resolved to attempt the surprise of a kind of magazine the Americans had at Bennington. This was attempted by Colonel Baum with about 500 men; but the Americans having got intelligence of the design, the colonel found them too strong to be attacked with his force, and therefore sent for a reinforcement. Another party, under Colonel Breyman, was immediately dispatched to his assistance; but, by reason of the badness of the roads, this second party did not arrive in time; and both were attacked

tacked by the Americans one after another, and defeated with great slaughter.

St Leger, in the mean time, gained a considerable victory over a party of Americans who were marching to the relief of fort Stanwix. The Indians, however, sustained so great a loss in the engagement, that from that moment, they became quite sullen and untractable. They murdered the unhappy prisoners in cold blood, and St Leger used his utmost endeavours to intimidate the garrison into a surrender, by magnifying his own power, and the hopeless situation the Americans were in. The governor, however, could not be intimidated; and in the mean time, the Indians having received intelligence, that Arnold was advancing with a considerable body of troops to the relief of Fort Stanwix, forced the Colonel to abandon the siege; most of them at the same time abandoning the army, and plundering the soldiers and officers of whatever they could carry off.

The bad success at Bennington was only a prelude to greater misfortunes to General Burgoyne and his once victorious army. General Gates took the command of the American army. They had a great opinion of his abilities, and their spirits being now raised by the successes they had met with, they no longer stood on the defensive, but attacked the King's army very fiercely. They even attempted to recover the fort of Ticonderago, and thus they would have cut off all possibility of retreat from the unhappy General. This expedition indeed, was unsuccessful, but it abundantly shewed the Americans were not the contemptible enemies they had all along been thought; and the situation of General Burgoyne became every day more hopeless.

In the mean time, fresh bodies of militia poured in from all quarters to the assistance of General Gates. The numbers of his troops increased so much, and their attacks were so vigorous, that the destruction of the whole army seemed unavoidable. In one of these was killed the brave Brigadier General

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ral Frazer, and some other officers of distinction were wounded and taken prisoners. General Burgoyne did every thing for the safety of his men that possibly could be done; but the difficulty of obtaining provisions increasing every day, his retreat being intercepted on all sides, his camp being almost surrounded by an army near four times as numerous as his own, who kept up an incessant cannonade against him, he was obliged at length to submit with his whole army. The capitulation took place on the 17th of October. The soldiers were to be shipped from Boston for England, as soon as British transports were procured to carry them; on condition of their not serving in America during the present war. The Canadians were to be returned to their own country on the same conditions; and in other respects every possible honour was allowed.

This terrible disaster seemed in a manner to decide the fate of America. All the successes hitherto attending the British arms seemed quite insignificant and trifling. They amounted indeed to no more than the taking of a few paltry towns and forts at the expence of much blood, and a great deal more money than would have bought them. Since the time of this capitulation, nothing remarkable hath been accomplished, or indeed attempted for the subduing of America. In the end of the year 1777, it was known to the British Ministry, that the Americans were about to enter into a treaty with France. On this Commissioners were sent to America, with very advantageous proposals of peace. But it was now too late. The treaty with France was already concluded, and the terms of the Commissioners were rejected with scorn. On this account, the Americans have been deservedly blamed, as they have preferred war to peace, when the latter could have been obtained on very honourable and advantageous terms.—Concerning the event of the war, it is impossible to say any thing.—Philadelphia hath been evacuated, and again taken possession of by the British; but we

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cannot reasonably suppose the possession of this, or any other town, to be attended with any permanent advantage, unless it is accompanied with the submission of the adjacent country. Some success hath indeed attended Colonel Campbell in the south; and the colony of Georgia is thought to be in the possession of his Majesty's troops; but how far this shall be a permanent conquest, or in what respects it may operate towards a total submission of the colonies, is difficult, indeed; impossible, to say.

HISTORY of the Present WAR in AMERICA, brought up to JUNE 1779.

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